FIGURING EXTINCTION:

Visualising the Thylacine in Zoological and Natural History Works 1808-1936

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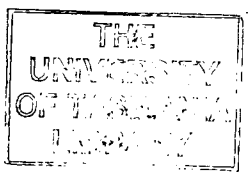

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During the last year of this project, animal studies has emerged as a significant field of study in Australia, invigorated by an Animals and Society Study Group based in Western Australia. The

inaugural conference of this group in 2005, organised by Dr Natalie Lloyd and Dr Jane Mulcock, has provided me with great encouragement in regard to future studies.

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ABSTRACT

The ability to make images allows humans to construct ideas about and positions for animals that can have devastating consequences. Little attention, however, has been paid to the affect of representations on animals that have subsequently become extinct. For instance, while a number of studies agree that the thylacine – a shy carnivorous marsupial with a striped back, a coughing bark and a pouch – was hunted to extinction on the island of Tasmania, none focus on the role of zoological illustrations in shaping false perceptions of the species. This thesis, then, aims to identify the ideas constructed by these images and examine how the attitudes they produce relate to the thylacine's extinction.

I analyse over 80 engravings, lithographs and photographs published in Europe and Australia before 1936, when the last thylacine in captivity died in a Tasmanian zoo. I track changes in the images, expose the implicit messages they project, reveal how science constructed authoritative ideas about the species, and examine how image and text interact to generate particular suggestions. I also discuss the techniques and assumptions associated with different media, the economic and political factors that contributed to the production and dissemination of illustrations, and the influence of new scientific theories on ideas about extinction.

I argue that visualising the thylacine rests on an 'economy of value': the species was discursively constructed in ways that evoked existing myths about predators such as the wolf, that pandered to a taste for the exotic and sensational and that specifically encouraged actions conducive to the extermination of the species. This is supported by evidence that taxidermy mounts, as well as figures in photographs, were manipulated for scientific, economic and commercial purposes; that while artists often convey sympathy toward the animal in preparatory drawings, these signifiers are removed when they appear in published works; and, significantly, that the most negative images are in publications that had a wide circulation and are held as multiples copies in Tasmanian collections. These illustrations 'figure' the thylacine's extinction.

The findings suggest that understanding the role of images in influencing attitudes toward animals is imperative if we are to resist the circumstances and actions that lead to the extinction of a species. Further focus is required, therefore, on the interactions between art and science, representations and the 'real' and between humans and animals – areas of research rarely addressed by those involved in zoology, visual culture, or wildlife conservation.

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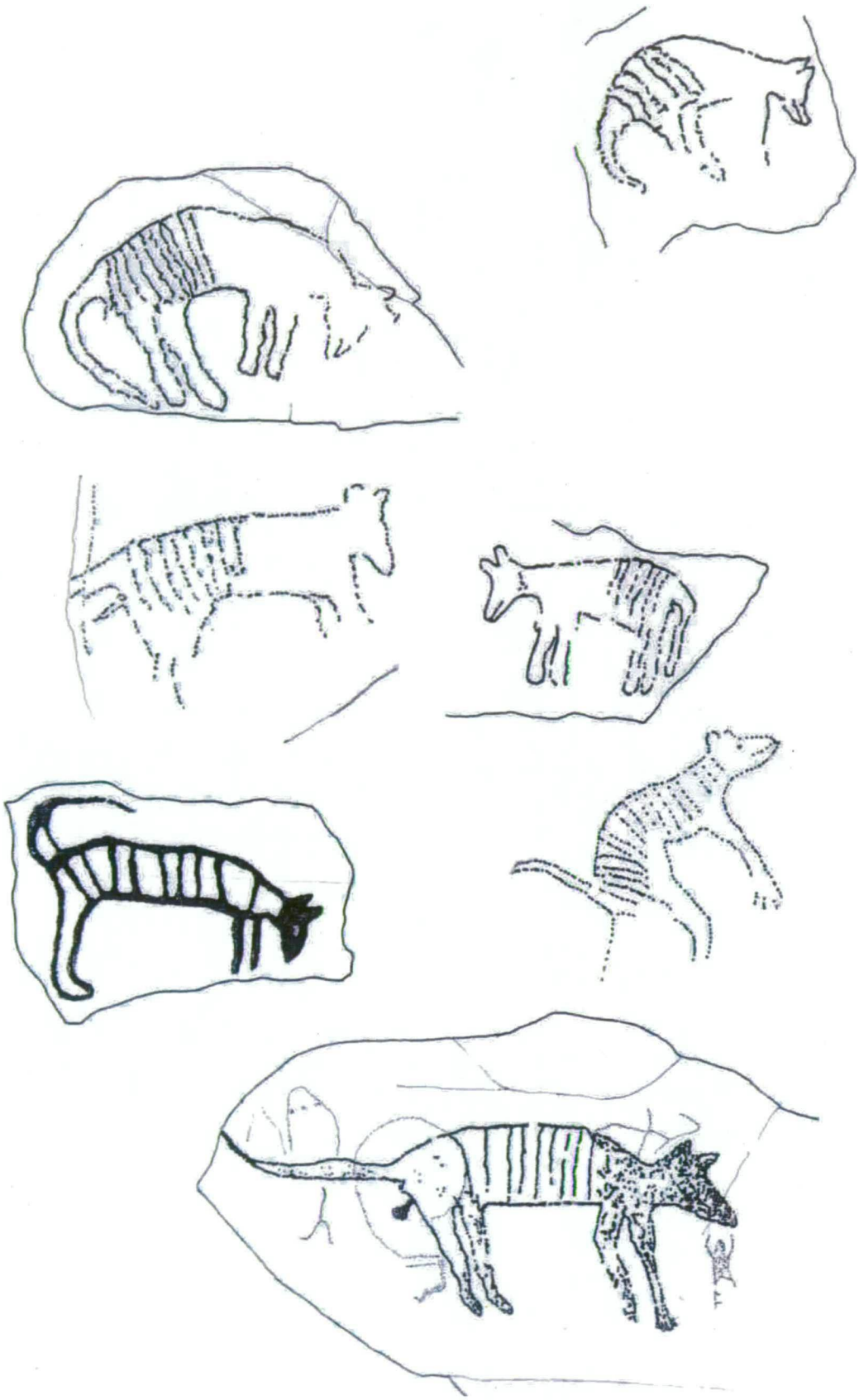

Illus. 1 Line drawing of rock engravings on the Burrup Peninsula and Angel Island.
Courtesy Ken Mulvaney, Australian Rock Art Research Association

Prologue – Angel Island

Angel Island is a piece of land about seven kilometres long and three kilometres wide adjacent to the western rim of the Australian continent and too small to appear on most maps. It is largely untouched by European occupation and now uninhabited by humans. It is one of forty-two islands off the north-west coast of Western Australia that make up the Dampier Archipelago, so named for the English explorer William Dampier. He reported that the indigenous people on the west coast of New Holland were "the miserablest people in the world" because they had no "houses and skin garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth" (Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* 464). In the journal of his voyage through the Archipelago in 1699, however, Dampier recorded the presence of cormorants, gulls, deep red bean blossoms, an abundance of very sweet oysters, water snakes, green turtles and stones of "a rusty Colour, and ponderous". Although he saw smoke on several of the islands, he did not see their inhabitants, nor comment on the many engravings on the "rusty" rocks (Dampier, *A Voyage to New Holland* 110-7).

When Europeans settled in the Pilbara district on the nearby mainland in the mid-1860s, it is believed that the Yaburara were a small group of about 120 indigenous people residing on the islands for most of the year.[1] Evidence from an explorer's journal suggests that they wove spinifex fibre into nets for fishing and used mangrove logs, which they propelled with their hands to paddle between the islands (Gregory, *Journals of Australian Explorations* 56). The notes of Karratha Station pastoralist John Withnell describe Aboriginals engaged in activities such as seed-gathering and processing, constructions of traps for kangaroos, cooking methods and ceremonies. Recent archaeological surveys of the Burrup Peninsula and several of the islands have discovered a variety of stone tools used for engraving, hammering and making spear heads; extensive shell middens and hearths; baler and conch shells used as water containers; and grinding patches on rocks for milling seed, beating spinifex and reconstituting sun-dried meat (Vinnicombe et al., *Maitland Survey* 79-81, 100-1).

The boat that takes me to Angel Island skirts around its coast, passing small sandy beaches tucked between rock formations that dip steeply into the sea. The flat, vertical faces of the terracotta rocks that border the Flying Foam Passage are a picture gallery that tells about a previous time on the island and the animals that lived in the sea and on the land. Engraved

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[1]Tindale's survey of Aboriginal language groups designates Yaburara territory as the northern islands of the Archipelago, including Angel Island. He says the Yaburara had a separate dialect related to that of the neighbouring Ngarluma people (Tindale 242). Research by Tom Gara quotes Nicholas Green as saying that contemporary Aboriginal people from nearby mainland areas believe the Yaburara were "a small tribe ... restricted ... mainly to the islands" (Gara 21).

on the rocks is a snake wriggling with open mouth, a dolphin playing, and the forms of turtles and long-legged birds. But I am searching for a particular bay where I believe there are engravings of animals that resemble thylacines.

The search is not easy. On Burrup Peninsula, or Murujuga, I have spent hours roaming engraving sites looking for thylacine images; there are thousands of rocks, and hundreds of engravings that seem to appear and disappear as sun or shade affects their surfaces. Many engravings face east and the morning sun bleaches out the shallow etchings; sometimes the uneven surface of the rock tricks the mind into imagining shapes; or weathering and chipping seems to suggest the body of an animal or a human figure that is not even there. As the day moves on the temperature gets hotter and, pausing to rest, aimless scanning of the rocks can suddenly produce images that went unnoticed earlier. This is an uncanny place.

Engraving sites are typically located along creek beds that furrow the small stony hills. On Angel Island dozens of creeks run into the bays that occur along its length. It is very dry in August, particularly so this year, 2001, and the creek beds are damp in only a few places. But they are stained with calcium deposits that indicate deep pools and cascades were here in the cyclone season, while in some places the brittle remains of tall reeds trace the path and seasonal fullness of these water sources. In Deep Gorge where there is still water there are many animal prints, trails and droppings near pools associated with engravings. Euros hop silently over the rocks that clink occasionally where they are unstable. Circling ospreys testify to the fertility of this place where the Yaburara people once gathered to eat shellfish and turtle, to sing and tell stories, and to engrave the rocks.

It appears that early settlement inland from the islands had little impact on the Yaburara, and there is no record of contact between them and the crews of American vessels searching for humpback whales in the 1840s and 1850s. However, exploitation of pearl beds in Nichol Bay following 1865 resulted in labour raids, stolen women, and deaths from introduced diseases.[2] Tom Gara's work on the Yaburara also cites evidence of the abduction of two women by a constable from Roebourne in 1868 that resulted in a retaliatory attack by the group and the death of the constable. The Flying Foam Passage, a drowned valley separating Angel Island from Dolphin Island, was one of the sites of repeated raids by two parties of special constables in response to the murder. The raids resulted in the deaths of forty or more of the Yaburara people. The main site of the massacre was Nichol Bay on Dampier Island, now the peninsula called Burrup. After 1870 there are no accounts of Aborigines

[2] Aborigines near Nichol Bay wore pearl shell ornaments according to a European worker at a station north of this area (Gara 10). Pearl shell was also in demand for the flat, mother-of-pearl buttons popular for fastening European clothing in the Victorian era; 80 pearl boats and 2000 people worked the pearl beds, many of the divers were Aboriginal men (*Exile and the Kingdom*).

leading a traditional lifestyle on the islands and only a handful of Yaburara appear to have survived to live on Karratha Station on the mainland in 1920 (Gara 10-18). In 1974 Tindale's survey of the Aboriginal language groups of Australia described the Yaburara as "a small tribe, now extinct" (Tindale 242).

Searching Deep Gorge near Hearson's Cove on Murujuga I imagine the Yaburara people sitting under the kurrajong trees eating shellfish, weaving fibre baskets, and sharpening stone tools. There are a few indistinct engravings here that, with a degree of imagination, could be said to look like thylacines, but archaeological literature mentions a number of clearer examples on the western side of the Peninsula. The search there, however, is unpleasant and fruitless: a fire has razed the scrub near Withnell Bay and vehicles have left a maze of tracks around piles of stones near the beach. The spinifex is coated in dust and above me the dull roar of flames from the flare towers at Woodside Petroleum's liquefied natural gas plant continues twenty-four hours a day. Every rock looks the same; the directions I have been given seem to lead between two high cyclone fences topped with barbed wire; the roar from the towers reaches a crescendo and then diminishes when a siren blasts the stillness and occasional bird song. I have been told there are more thylacine engravings on the Haul Road, but Woodside Petroleum management tells me that I will need an escort if I want to go there. Construction has started on the fourth LNG processing 'train' and the transport of heavy equipment on the Haul Road makes its use hazardous. And for staff, tomorrow is a rostered day off.

I see a thylacine engraving for the first time further south with the help of the environmental officer at Hamersley Iron Pty. Ltd. She drives past glistening salt ponds, under high voltage electricity wires, and over the mining company's railway line to Happy Valley, while a long string of railway trucks carrying iron ore winds, snake-like, toward the water. I have seen this deeply etched engraving in several publications about art on Murujuga. It is incised on a relatively small rock that decorated a European garden for many years but has recently been returned to this spot, chosen by the Aboriginal community, with its position marked by a white painted tyre.

Burrup Peninsula was created when a causeway was built between Dampier Island and the mainland of Western Australia to facilitate the loading of iron ore at a new port facility built in 1964. The area has been described as "one of the largest petroglyph complexes in the world" with between 250,000 and one million motifs and "a heritage of major importance ... represent[ing] the beliefs, the customs and art of the Aborigines who have lived there for many thousands of years" (Bednarik, *Letters to Dr Gallop*). A report on the site commissioned by the Western Australian Department of Development in 1991 only

fleetingly mentions Aboriginal association with the land, but admits that "the cultural values of the area are immense as it is one of the richest petroglyph (rock art) sites recorded" (Anon. *Pilbara 21* 1). Yet in 2000 more than 600 ore carriers exported 75 million tonnes of high-grade iron ore from wharves at the Peninsula's town, Dampier, the largest port in Australia; while a subsidiary operation, salt production for the petrochemical industry, exports 6 million tonnes annually (Osborne et al. 55-6). No archaeological reconnaissance or environmental impact assessment was carried out before the Hamersley Iron development started and further proposals continued, despite awareness of the significance of the sites in published material and concern about the effect of mining development on their integrity (Wright, *Rock Art* 73; Bednarik, *Dampier*). There is no record of the extent of Aboriginal art sites that were lost before interest by an employee of the salt works, and the Western Australian Museum, drew attention to the importance of the area and moves were made to protect the sites (Vinnicombe, *Dampier Project* 7).

The discovery of gas deposits on the offshore North West Shelf in 1971/2 resulted in plans for further development in the Dampier Archipelago and stimulated surveys of rock engraving sites by the Western Australian Museum. But a joint Commonwealth/State Government study of the area in 1974 (*Pilbara Study*) and a report commissioned by the West Australian Department of Industrial Development in 1980 (Clough/SLAM report) ignored heritage and conservation matters and included no acknowledgment of the need for site protection management proceeding directly from development issues (Vinnicombe, *Dampier Project* 8). Meanwhile, Woodside Offshore Petroleum Pty Ltd began planning an AU$12 billion development project on the Burrup Peninsula. A survey by the Department of Aboriginal Sites in 1978 and environmental impact assessments for Woodside by the Western Australian government, eventually led to the selection of King Bay/Withnell Bay for a massive gas treatment plant, rather than Searipple Passage near Angel Island to the north. In the preferred southern region 720 cultural sites were documented and Woodside applied to the Museum for permission to utilise this area under section 18 of the *Aboriginal Heritage Act* and was granted approval subject to recording, sampling and salvaging being carried out by the Department of Aboriginal Sites (Vinnicombe, *Dampier Project* 8-9, 55). There is no record of consultation with members of Aboriginal communities that may have had associations with the area.[3]

The Museum began a salvage project in April 1980 with a large team of archaeologists and a

[3] There were six surveys and reports by the Department of Aboriginal Sites between 1979 and 1980 that urged proper management of the area, but the planning report adopted in 1981 showed no recognition of site protection or management. Aboriginal people were consulted by Green and Turner in 1982 in a bid to have the area listed on the register of the National Estate, but this site-recording programme was abandoned when urgent matters related to the Harding Dam project occupied those involved (Vinnicombe et al., *Maitland Survey* 31-35).

historian. Eventually, three teams carried out work in advance of quarrying, the construction of access roads, erection of power cable pylons, dumping of fill and siting of an explosives magazine. In some areas permanent cyclone fences were erected to protect sites close to the development. The survey of rock engravings found that they covered a wide range of subjects including human figures, stingrays, groper, sharks, dolphins, turtles with eggs, wallabies, snakes, eagles, and thylacines. It was also found that in some places stones had been intentionally erected in vertical positions by being wedged into cracks in rocks, or pits and depressions had been formed by removal of stones. Over 1600 engraved rocks were relocated to a salvage yard. Stone artefacts, shells, bones and other materials excavated by the archaeological teams were transported to Perth for storage. The sites where the salvage took place were completely destroyed. Vinnicombe reports "in the areas of principal development, construction activities resulted in a total alteration of the landscape" (*Dampier Project* 9-34, 84-5). Refusal to protect the sites has been described as "the greatest crime against cultural heritage ever seen in the world" (Bednarik, *Letters to Dr Gallop*). By 1999 a fleet of LNG carriers using two loading terminals were exporting 7.9 million tonnes of liquefied gas and over 4 million tonnes of condensate annually out of Withnell Bay (Osborne et al. 55-6).

And the impact of industrial development in the area has continued. In 1997 an Aboriginal heritage survey discovered that a mythological site was being quarried and that the mining company was unaware of the significance of the area; in 1998 plans for the Maitland Heavy Industry Estate were announced; in 2002 a 25 year contract to annually supply 3. 3 million tonnes of liquefied natural gas to China was announced by Woodside – valued between $18 and 25 billion, this is the largest single export contract in Australia's history – in the same year a plan to establish a $630 million ammonia plant and the world's largest methanol plant on the Burrup received clearance from the Western Australian Environment Minister. In 2003 Woodside, the operator of the North West Shelf Venture, announced that it had made a major error in calculating the emissions of oxides of nitrogen at its Dampier gas plant. The error related to the mass of corrosive emissions, which is conceded to be about twice as great as listed in the National Pollutant Inventory. Bentarik believes that this provides a plausible explanation for the deterioration rate of rock accretions at Dampier which seemed to be in excess of what would be expected from previously published emission levels. In 2004 Canadian fertiliser producer Agrium was granted land at Dampier to establish a $1 billion ammonia plant (Bednarik, *Dampier*). Since I visited the area in 2001, however, there has also been sustained local and international protest about the industrial development, corrosion of the rock art, protection of the site, and related issues. This has resulted in the sacking of several Western Australian government officials, the listing of the site on

National Heritage and Endangered Places Register, the granting of compensation to three Aboriginal groups for their native title rights, the withdrawal of development plans by some large overseas industrial companies, and an announcement by the World Monuments Fund that the Dampier Rock Art Precinct is to remain on the list of *100 Most Threatened Monuments of the World* for 2006 and 2007 because destruction in the area is continuing despite promises made by the State government (Bednarik, *Dampier*).[4]

I am standing on Angel Island with the spinifex prickling my ankles. I have found a thylacine engraving and my first thought is - it is climbing the rocks! Because, unlike all the other rock art depicting striped animals I have seen in books, this one is standing with his hind legs in a small saucer-shaped depression while leaning his front legs against a crack in the rock. His long straight tail is etched as if it were an extension of his back, precisely as it appears in some films and photographs of thylacines in zoos. If I stand on the beach I can see a thin vertical rock immediately above and behind this engraving and I use it to guide me back to its position, as this is a very wide bay and the image is near one of four creek beds running toward the sea.

Illus. 2 Rock engraving, Angel Island. Photo used with approval of Ngarluma Yindiibarndi native title claimants.

But the two engravings I am seeking are not here, and as I walk along the shore to the north I try to imagine what sort of bay the Yaburara people would have chosen to camp in and

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[4] See Robert Bednarik, "The Survival of the Murujuga (Burrup) Petroglyphs" *Rock Art Research* 19.1 (2002): 29-40 for more about the erosion of the rock art due to the effects of atmospheric conditions, including pollution; http://www.heritagewa.org.au/places/burrup2/National_nomination for the nomination form for National Heritage listing of the site; http://www.nntt.gov.au/media/Burrup.html for an outline of the native title agreement with the Western Australian government; and http://mc2.vicnet.net.au/home/dampier/web/nov04.html for a recent update of events relating to the conservation of the area.

draw the enigmatic images I have seen in a book about the thylacine. I also wonder whether divers would find more rock engravings in the drowned valley, and if thylacines roamed this landscape, and whether they sniffed at the air from its many vantage points while hunting rock wallabies, quolls or field rats. It is mid-morning and getting hotter. I pass one beach after another and eventually find a tiny deep bay where a creek that still holds some water runs into the sea and mangroves crowd along the water's edge.

Once there, I find a startling rock formation facing me in the middle of the beach. It is a sunburst: tall vertical rocks are tilted like the spines of an echidna. Beside it the creek winds back through low hills and rock piles, and as I walk along its bank I look up, searching for those large flat rocks in the illustration that brought me here. Then I see them. On the highest and largest rocks in this landscape the images of two striped animals seem to dance in the sun. They have a curious vitality and a buoyant angle to their limbs, as if frozen in the middle of an energetic action, or floating on the rock they are engraved on. One of the pair has a human-like hand on its front leg with five fingers fully extended and its tail is turned up.[5] *Reports of thylacines in the wild suggest these animals are depicted in a state of arousal or excitement. To the right of this image there is a tiny human figure of the type that often signifies an ancestral being.*

Illus. 3 Rock engravings, Angel Island. Photo used with approval of Ngarluma Yindjibarndi native title claimants.

This secluded place, the position and style of the drawings and the surrounding rock formations would seem to suggest that, if these engravings represent thylacines, they were important animals in the lives of the people who inscribed them.

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[5] A thylacine has five toes on the front feet and four on the back.

The preponderance of engravings in the Dampier Archipelago seems to have resulted from the abundance of ideal material on which to engrave, the existence of sheltered valleys containing fresh water and a desire, on the part of the inhabitants of these islands, to represent the life around them for a number of possible reasons. Engravings can carry multiple cultural references for Aboriginal people; for instance, they may have been made to commemorate an event such as a successful hunt or catch, or be visual aids to assist in the recognition of an animal, particularly in the case of tracks (Mulvaney 110). However, although a cave painting at Upper East Alligator River in Arnhem Land shows a thylacine with a spear in its back, no other evidence of Aboriginal predation appears to exist, except for several questionable reports in the diary of George Robinson who travelled through Tasmania from 1834 to 1837.[6] And no archaeological evidence, such as burned bones in midden deposits, has been found anywhere in Australia to suggest thylacines were cooked or eaten (Archer 47).

Jennifer Isaacs says "we can now only guess at the purpose of many rock engravings, inferring their meaning and function through their association with contemporary ceremonial practice and symbolic art". She notes that prehistorians tend to see the engravings in isolation, while some Aboriginal observers take the way they are grouped and the natural features, such as pools and cracks or grooves in the rock, into consideration. She draws attention to the special quality of engraving sites, best appreciated at dusk when "with the low shadows of the falling sun, the engravings stand out on rock platforms, revealing hidden tracks, new signs and symbols, tantalising messages we cannot decode"[7] (Isaacs 10-11). Wally Caruana also points out that rock art may carry intended ambiguities and that each symbol or icon within a work may encapsulate a variety of meanings, but at the same time he calls such symbols "the most potent carriers of meaning" in Aboriginal art tradition (14). To European researchers some figures on the rocks may resemble thylacines and indicate that they were present in the area at some previous time. But they may be tending to look for images that relate to their own perception of the world, rather than Aboriginal perceptions. While the subjects of animal images may be discerned in their very form, indigenous persons interpreting this art may link them to mythology, religious ideology or iconography, rather than form (Mulvaney 111; Vinnicombe et al., *Maitland Survey* 84-5). The same applies to places or sites, and when contemporary custodians are consulted the code can only be broken if the art sites hold significance for the group concerned, or if they give a reasoned

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[6] I discuss Robinson's references to the thylacine at greater length in transformations.

[7] Presumably, Isaacs uses 'we' to refer to white prehistorians or archaeologists. This exemplifies the problems in using such a term.

explanation that is culturally derived, or if the people concerned want to provide information (Mulvaney 109; Isaacs 143).

In a perceptive article, "Indigenous Art and the Limits of Social Science", Kingsley Palmer points out that with successive commentary and description, the content of prehistoric art multiplies, since "every observation supplies a new sediment of meaning". Readings are informed by the archaeological record, the Aboriginal informant and "the perceived replication of forms familiarly understood from one's own experience of the natural world". Value may be ascribed according to the size, dramatic effect, and even obscurity of the subject. Interpretation of the meaning and value of this art, says Palmer, is the product of time, place, culture and context, and of the experience and the encounter of the individual with the art. "'Meaning', in this instance, tells us about a human relationship with a cultural phenomenon, not about an absolute system for graphic representation" (Palmer, "Indigenous Art" 114). The many factors Palmer mentions are those also considered in my analyses of European images, however, the effects that readings may have had on attitudes toward the thylacine in Tasmania are a particular concern of this thesis. This potential of images is articulated by Howard Morphy when he writes that relationships between animals and humans, art and reality are interactive: "for in using animals for certain purposes and encoding them in particular ways people inevitably affect the concept of an animal that they have" (14). The thesis reveals that Paul Tacon's remarks hold true for European images as well as the Aboriginal art of which he speaks: "art objects ... not only ... reflect the aesthetic preferences of the people who produced them but also express aspects of economics, philosophy, social relations, cosmology, and world-view" (236). The world-views of Aboriginal people and the European society that produced the images I discuss differ dramatically.

This difference is exemplified in the relations between representations of animals in European zoological works and in Aboriginal rock art with the extinction of species. The most compelling connection between indigenous images and extinction is that the existence or function of some figures is to perpetuate, replenish or conserve particular species, while other images may have been designed to ensure the fertility of country and of all living creatures (Berndt et al. 28-50). Ken Mulvaney has found a greater concentration of thylacine images on Murujuga than anywhere else in Australia and there is evidence of pounded pits on the body of one of these engravings and scored lines radiating out from the figure. It is surrounded by images of a species of kangaroo, implying that an attempt was made to connect the thylacine with its prey. Mulvaney concludes that this "special engraving would have formed part of Aboriginal rituals to protect the species" (Salleh). These rituals were associated with *thalu* or 'increase' sites, totemic centres where ceremonies were performed

in order to maintain and regulate environmental factors and plant and animals species. The power or life-essence inherent in the images could be released by re-engraving or simply by touch, together with singing or other ritual actions (Berndt et al. 28-50; Vinnicombe, *Dampier Project* 6). Grooves on nearby rocks may indicate a place where objects have been rubbed or struck against the rock to release the essence of a totemic being (Isaacs 11; Rose 213-4).

In indigenous culture the engravings are believed to be the work of ancestral beings and to embody the Law formulated in the Dreamtime. There is an association of image, place and custodial responsibilities and the engravings are a constant reminder of obligations and inherited responsibilities. The songs and ceremonies associated with them provide the conditions for the increase of species (Palmer, "Petroglyphs" 158; Muecke 168; Vinnicombe, *Dampier Project* 72). An image, then, can be both signifier and signified for, as Muecke suggests, in Aboriginal societies it may be that the 'marking' (signifier) is not thought of as abstractable from the 'meaning idea' (signified) (9). In her study of the Yarralin community, Deborah Rose says that for Aboriginal people actions stimulate the Dreaming and trigger a response: for instance, turtles [or thylacines] increase. "But turtles are also subject to Dreaming Law ... individuals come and go; species persist. Unless a disaster occurs, there will always be turtles" (213-4). In Tasmania, that disaster happened to the thylacine a very short time after European settlement.

The following chapters will examine the relation of zoological images generated by colonisation, with the extinction of this species. The silent companions of the thylacine in the narrative that unfolds are the Aboriginal people of Tasmania; for example, in 1830 when a bounty was placed on the thylacine Governor Arthur also implemented the Black Line that attempted to herd the indigenes onto Tasman Peninsula for removal from their land. In the course of my research the rock engravings on Angel Island came to symbolise the endurance of cultural artefacts, the power invested in visual representations and the fragility of animal species.[8]

[8] According to a recent Western Australian Tourism Commission newsletter, more than 90% of Angel Island was burnt out in a recent fire that killed hundreds of reptiles and destroyed most of the vegetation. The island's ecosystem will take many years to recover.

INTRODUCTION

The Extinction of the Thylacine

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word 'extinction' was originally applied to fire or a flame; then figuratively to "things comparable to life, hope, passion, disease, etc." Later the term was used to refer to a family or race that had died out or come to an end having no living representative or "without progressive succession". Eventually the word was applied to species of animal or plant. The first example of this use given by the *Oxford English Dictionary* is a quotation from A.R. Wallace's *Island Life*: "the most effective agent in the extinction of species is the pressure of other species".

The thylacine became extinct on the mainland of Australia about 3500 years ago. The dominant theory at present is that competition from the eutherian dog (dingo) resulted in its extinction there; however, Archer mentions fossil evidence from Mulvaney (Mount Burr) with radiocarbon dates at 7450 +/- 270 and 8600+/- 300 BP (47). Merrilees believes the thylacine and dingo coexisted and that habitat destruction or modification by indigenes may have had profound effects on fauna (18-20). More recently, Flannery has cited "direct competition for resources" as a likely cause of the animal's disappearance and suggested a date "soon after" the arrival of the dingo (*The Future Eaters* 276). Paddle uses Aboriginal oral evidence and scientific reports from the colonies of New South Wales and South Australia to support a theory that the thylacine was found on the mainland until the mid-nineteenth century (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 22-3). The presence of the species on the mainland is apparent from fossil material dated between 30,000 BP and 3090 BP found in temperate South Australia, southwest Victoria and Western Australia, the arid Nullabor Plain, and tropical cyclone areas in the northwest of Western Australia. The interaction of the thylacine with humans is recorded in these areas in rock engravings and paintings on cave walls and rocky outcrops that show scenes such as young animals feeding from their mother's pouch, a small striped animal carrying a dilly bag, animals with spears in their backs (Flood 271; Brandl 28-9) and those described in the prologue to this thesis.

When Europeans settled Australia, the only thylacines that seem to have survived were confined to the island of Tasmania that was detached from the mainland after the waning of the Ice Age. Numbers of the species in the nineteenth century have been estimated as between 2000 and 4000 (Guiler and Godard 138), similar to that of the indigenous people of Tasmania known as the Palawa, of whom few survived the arrival of Europeans in 1803. The diary of George Robinson an evangelist who, with the endorsement of the government,

travelled the island in the 1830s 'bringing' the Aboriginal people into settlements and ultimately to isolation on Flinder's Island adjacent to the north coast, reports the relationship of the Palawa with the animal he called "hyaena" (Plomley, *Friendly Mission* 527, 888).[9] Studies of Aboriginal languages indicate that the people from the northeast of Tasmania called the thylacine 'corrina'; the Oyster Bay tribe used the name 'lagunta'; those in the northwest and west referred to the animal as 'loarrinah'; Bruny Island people called it 'kannenner'; and the southern groups used the terms 'laoonana' and 'ka-hunnah' (Roth xxxviii; Plomley, *Aboriginal Word List* 311-2). Apart from Robinson's diary, however, there are few indications of Palawa attitudes or interactions with the thylacine in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – no stories, songs, engravings, or paintings relating to the animal appear to have survived – so there is no way of knowing the place of the thylacine in their culture. However, its seems that Tasmania afforded the remnant thylacine population a discrete, protected environment in which the species continued as the dominant predator with little competition from human activities.

Early European anecdotal and scientific literature records conflicting information about the thylacine's attributes and habits, perhaps because it was repeatedly described as 'rarely seen' by early settlers and, later, because there was no systematic physical analysis of the animal in captivity. The basic information with which most current assessments of morphological and historical evidence seem to agree is that the thylacine was a relatively shy carnivorous marsupial with the shape and appearance of a medium-sized dog. It was 100-130 cm long from nose to rump and about 58 cm high at the shoulder, with a stiff tail 50-65 cm long that appeared to merge with the spine. Its coat was short, coarse and sandy-coloured, with thirteen to twenty dark, transverse stripes across the back. The thylacine moved relatively slowly, hunting wallaby, pademelon, smaller marsupials and birds. As indicated by the distribution of Aboriginal names, the species was present in the north, northwest, central plateau and eastern half of Tasmania in a wide range of habitats, but preferred open eucalypt forest or mixed eucalypt-rainforest. It is unlikely to have lived exclusively in the highlands or dense rainforest (Guiler and Godard 71). Despite, or perhaps because of, a lack of familiarity with the species, it became the ideal scapegoat for sheep farmers to explain failures in the pastoral industry (Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 139-67) resulting in bounties imposed by the Van Diemens' Land Company in 1830 and 1839 and a government bounty in 1888.

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[9] See transformations for a drawing of the thylacine from Robinson's journal and a discussion of his comments about Aboriginal interactions with the species.

While a small population and habitat modification played a role in the extinction of the thylacine in Tasmania, it is now generally agreed that direct and deliberate human actions were the ultimate cause of its extermination (Moeller 107-22; Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 201-4; Flannery, *A Gap in Nature* 14; Owen, *Thylacine* 135-47); although Guiler also maintains that disease played a role in diminishing numbers to unsustainable levels around the time the government bounty was in force between 1888 and 1909 (Guiler and Godard 138; *Thylacine* 26-9). In chapter 6 of his book *The Last Tasmanian Tiger: The History and Extinction of the Thylacine*, Robert Paddle examines in detail the political shift that occurred between 1884 and 1888 resulting in the application of this bounty. He points out that this move came at about the same time as naturalists and collectors were complaining of the rarity of the species and he provides evidence that claims of sheep attacks and killings cannot be verified, that official and individual reports were often contradictory and that figures were wildly exaggerated and impossible to sustain. Claims of the thylacine's threat to sheep were interspersed with reports that mention rabbits, disease, feral dogs, drought and other causes for the floundering pastoral industry. Recent examination of the morphology of the thylacine by Jones and Stoddart suggests that the species was adapted to kill smaller native prey and its predatory behaviour did not resemble any of the animals with which it was compared (Jones and Stoddart, 243-4). Records of bounty payments made by the Tasmanian government from 1880 to 1908, a most poignant set of statistics, are a testament to the efficiency of European killing methods – snaring and trapping. Meanwhile, museums and zoos, particularly outside Australia, were desperate for the last examples of a species about to become extinct, so they also contributed to the capture, killing, confinement and exportation of the species. Although there have been innumerable claims of sightings in the wild throughout the twentieth century, no convincing evidence has been recorded that thylacines have existed in Tasmania since the last captive animal died in 1936.

The Purpose of the Study

A number of academic studies published in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have presented comprehensive and varied impressions of the thylacine and its history. They are usually based on historical documents, although some are the result of recent zoological research and a few deal with more specific issues. The most important of these are a study by Smith (1981) that offers the first general history and survey of the status of the thylacine in the form of a report; a book by Guiler (1985) that covers all aspects of the thylacine's history in Tasmania, including the thylacine in zoos, the bounties, expeditions and searches; and another in 1998 with Godard that adds a general overview of nineteenth and early twentieth century images and a chapter on cloning the species. There is also a German

language work by Moeller (1997) that deals with anatomy and behaviour in particular; and research by Paddle (2000) that concentrates on scientific perceptions of the thylacine, social behaviour based on anecdotal evidence, the politics of the bounties, and human causes and responsibility for the extinction of the species. None of these studies, however, includes a systematic or comprehensive documentation of visual images of the thylacine circulating in the species' lifetime. While ideas that circulated orally, through stories and first hand experiences, have been documented and discussed by Guiler and Paddle, illustrations in popular or scientific works have rarely been referred to and if they are, usually in relation to their 'accuracy', for instance, Guiler and Godard (1998) and Moeller (1997). Only Claude (1996) has devoted a chapter to discussing a few of the complexities inherent in illustrations of the thylacine. None of these works pays more than cursory attention to the important role of visual images in embodying, constructing or disseminating ideas about the species.

Indeed, there have been few sustained political analyses of zoological images, with writing on the topic generally being historical-descriptive rather than analytical or critical, for instance, Knight (1977), Dance (1981), Younger (1988) and Ford (1992). However, recent research by Potts (1990) on the politics of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century animal images, Kemp's (1996) critical review of selected botanical illustrations, and Mitchell's (1998) cultural analysis of representations of the dinosaur show how profitable such studies can be in terms of offering new ways of understanding this material. In particular, there has been little systematic research on representations of extinct animals, other than a paper on the results of investigations into sequential illustrations and examination of skeletal remains of the dodo by Kitchener (1993) and two popular books about images of the same bird by Fuller (2002) and den Hengst (2003). These studies find the shape of the dodo to be very different from that both scientifically and popularly accepted for several hundred years.

As species are disappearing at an increasing rate, it would seem an exceptionally important task to address the deficit in research in relation to an animal that has become extinct primarily because of the way in which it was perceived. Investigating images of the thylacine can contribute to understanding how ideas about the animal that resulted in its extermination were expressed and generated through visual media. The thylacine is an ideal subject for analysis because it is such a recent extinction, with a wide range of graphic devices used to illustrate it. The engravings, lithographs and photographs I discuss are similar to the visual media used today; therefore, results can be extrapolated for species still in existence. Research of the type undertaken in this thesis, combined with work by those involved in zoological studies, history of science, art history and environmental studies will provide a multi-faceted approach to understanding how images operate and determining how attitudes toward animals can be improved or, as Baker expresses it, "what animals may yet

be *made to signify*" (Baker, *Picturing the Beast* [2001] xxxvi). The existence of a gap in research is itself a revelation of the way in which academic boundaries often limit and restrict investigations and closing this gap may shed new light on solutions, as well as the causes to problems. How this knowledge can be beneficial to the representation of presently endangered species is discussed in the Conclusion.

Aim and Scope of Research

The aims of the research are *to identify the ideas constructed by visual images of the thylacine and examine how the attitudes they produce relate to the species' extinction.* To achieve these aims I document 88 illustrations of the thylacine, mainly in zoological and natural history works, circulating between 1808 and 1936; identify latent, implicit and overt signifiers in the images; explore the interaction of image and text; track changes in the representation of the species; and determine the relation of images to contemporary ideas about extinction and the process of extermination. These methods will be explained in more detail in the course of the discussion below and in the following chapter.

Scope of Research

The research is confined to illustrations in zoological and natural history works because they were the primary repositories of images of the thylacine and shaped definitive ideas about the species in Britain, the European continent and Tasmania in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. They were often used as sources for illustrations in encyclopaedias, geographies, magazines and newspapers, some of which are also discussed to show how the images were used. The works dealt with were published between 1808 when the first European image of a thylacine appeared in a British scientific journal and 1936 when the last known thylacine died in captivity. The majority of works considered were found in the major historical collections in Tasmania – works published in Britain and Australia being the most common. The primary collection searched for images was the Royal Society of Tasmania library: the State's main scientific library in the nineteenth century, which was intended to be "widely accessible to the public" and also served as a reference library for the Tasmanian Museum in the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Piesse 154). A similar number of works were found in the State Library of Tasmania, which absorbed various private collections such as those of influential men in the colony – William Crowther and Morton Allport – and the collections of various early public institutions and subscription libraries, and so provides a good indication of the books circulating in Tasmania during the

study period. Natural history works are also well represented in the Queen Victoria Museum library in Launceston and the University of Tasmania Library.

Some works containing images of the thylacine also appear in the catalogues of circulating libraries in Tasmania, such as the Bothwell Literary Society in 1873, the Evandale Subscription Library in 1862, the Longford Library and the Derwent Circulating Library in 1846. Some were held in the Van Diemen's Land Mechanics Institute library founded in 1829, in the Launceston Mechanics Institute and the Tasmanian Public Library, established in 1849 that were also absorbed by the State Library of Tasmania. Others are listed in the sales catalogues of bookshops such as Walch's in 1870 and 1887, in Westcott's catalogue in 1849, and in an inventory of the private collection of R.C. Gunn who, with Allport and Crowther, had direct involvement with matters relating to the thylacine.[10] A thorough search of all extant catalogues and other records of holdings in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century libraries has not been possible because of the time involved and because the archive is necessarily incomplete – some old catalogues only cover certain years, or are illegible, and the records of many private collections that were the source of reading matter in the early years are unavailable.

To supplement works found in Tasmanian libraries, zoological and natural history titles have been identified through information offered by secondary works dealing with the thylacine. These include bibliographies such as the *Zoological Record*, a compendium of zoological literature edited by Casey Wood (1931), and Claus Nissen's *Die Zoolgische Buch Illustrations* (1969). Other titles were found by searching archival material and entries for the species in contemporary zoological texts, references to titles in nineteenth century and early twentieth century works, and in recent works about zoological illustration and natural history books. Research also involved physically sifting through holdings in museum and state libraries in Tasmania, Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane and Sydney as well as the British Library, the Linnean Society of London library, the Zoological Society of London library, the National Library of Scotland, the National Museum of Scotland and by searching antiquarian bookshops in Tasmania, London and Edinburgh.

While an attempt has been made to gather as many illustrations of the thylacine produced in the study period as possible, there are limitations to any historical research – the extent of a library collection, the constraints of time and distance and the actual accessibility of material. Access to the past is mediated to a greater or lesser extent by location of the archive, by library staff, by cataloguers and subject headings, by indecipherable handwriting, by the human error of recorders or copyists, by the stamina of the researcher and ultimately by *what*

[10] I am grateful to Keith Adkins for alerting me to the existence of many of these catalogues.

has survived to be collected and consulted. The images considered in this thesis, then, are those in *general* circulation in Britain and Australia during the study period. Although they were rare in Tasmania, some images in French and German works are also considered because they sometimes influenced the illustrations that appeared in British works, or demonstrate the type of images that were unlikely to have affected outcomes. Images in American works published in the nineteenth century have not generally been included as very few have been found in collections in Tasmania, and so it is assumed that few are likely to have been on the island during the study period.

A broad outline of the contexts (frames) in which these images are produced is provided, as well as an overview of specific issues such as attitudes toward animals, Darwinism, and the practices of publishing companies where they are important to the production of a particular set of images or a time period. The thesis is primarily the results of a research project dealing with a particular type of representation (illustrations) of one particular animal (the thylacine) in a limited selection of cultural artefacts (a particular genre of written works). It is an attempt at "interpreting utterances and beliefs" about an animal rather than a larger, totalising history that deals with abstractions and sociologies (Egmond and Mason 2). The value of examining a discrete subject, event or practice has been demonstrated in a recent book and television series by Betty Churcher, *The Art of War*, that shows "how war changed art in the twentieth century and how art has changed attitudes to war" (Melbourne University Publishing) and in a work by Helen MacDonald – *Human Remains: Episodes in Human Dissection* – that situates the subjects of three dissections at the centre of the narrative. I do not attempt a historical 'reconstruction' of attitudes toward the thylacine, even on a small scale, but concentrate on the analysis of images and the way they change over time. Nor is this a study of zoological illustrations *per se*, although I mention changes in direction and medium when they directly affect the appearance and message an image generates, or reflect a change in attitudes or actions toward the species. Neither does this thesis constitute a history or delineation of the thylacine or assess the validity of claims about the thylacine or any other animal. It is a study of how ideas about the species were *constructed* in zoological and natural history works published during the period under examination and how these notions might have affected the living animal. Because the particular combination of subject matter from the academic areas of zoology, visual art, cultural and environmental studies is rarely researched, and because the area of focus is small, this project provides the opportunity for interesting and unusual interdisciplinary outcomes.

Theoretical Frames and Methods

The theoretical perspective or stance I assume in this thesis takes into account the demands of the material I am analysing and the interdisciplinary nature of the project. The way I perceive representations of the thylacine is broadly based on the structuralist and post structuralist theories of Barthes (1967, 1977) and Derrida (1976, 1978) in literary and cultural studies that have now been accommodated in areas such as visual culture and new historicism, as well as the social sciences, cultural geography and environmental studies. My use of this approach centres on the suggestion that things cannot be understood in isolation; rather, they have to be seen in the context of the larger cultural structures they are part of and that enable and inform them. That language and visual images not only reflect and record the world, but also shape and participate in what is understood as 'reality' at any given time. As Althusser argues, "the image can be seen as an inscription of those values and beliefs ... which hierarchise, differentiate and exclude" (quoted in Thomas, *Reading Images* 7). A particularly pertinent point in relation to the images I discuss here is that human prejudices and fears are encoded in images and that interpretations and practices are thus reinforced. In addition, the reader is an active participant in making meanings for an image or text – and also in adapting and exploiting a sign or discourse. It follows, then, that representations of animals have a role in both expressing and producing attitudes toward the species they figure. As part of the practices and ideologies that determine difference they have a *constitutive* role in what is perceived as 'truth' (Thomas, *Reading Images* 6; Wolff 710). In this capacity they are endowed with considerable power.

Using this theoretical frame involves keeping in mind that ideas about things are not given but constructed, that the reader has a role in this construction, and that there are multiple meanings and interpretations for a single text, image, communication or object. The approach calls into question what is usually taken for granted and accepts that there are no guaranteed 'facts'. It means that my response to the material I analyse is informed by scepticism, that I ask questions about what is understood by 'reality', 'tradition' and 'convention', break free of habitual modes of reading and understanding and attain a more dependable insight on the world. Mieke Bal incorporates these priorities into her description of cultural analysis which is also "based on a keen awareness of the critic's situatedness in the present" and "problematises history's silent assumptions in order to come to an understanding of the past that is different". The practice of cultural analysis, she writes, "seeks to understand the past as *part* of the present ..." (Bal 1). The critical readings of images and texts in this thesis produce new meanings for the past, framed by my motivation to contribute to the imperatives of the present.

The central concern of this thesis, the connection between illustrations of the thylacine and the process of the species' extinction, also addresses the relation between the representation and the 'real'. The way I approach the research material, write the text, and arrange the images is informed by the importance of *flesh and blood animals* and the lack of attention they receive in many studies. Steve Baker and Erica Fudge – practitioners in the new and growing field of animal studies – have commented on the need for works that address the way in which humans perceive, represent and treat animals. In her essay "A Left-handed Blow: Writing the History of Animals", Fudge has pointed out that it is often the human intellect or attitudes that are the focus of animal histories, while in other studies "social (that is, human) ideas" are the focus (8-11). Common statements in writing of this kind refer to Lévi-Strauss' remark that animals are "good to think [with]" (Lévi-Strauss 89) or observe that a study tells us more about ourselves than about animals. In my Honours thesis "Feathering the Text: (Re)reading the Animal in Medieval Writing" (2000), I attempted to remedy this deficiency by demonstrating an 'animalist' reading of three works that have representations of animals at their centre and yet have only been approached in relation to literary (that is, human) concerns (Freeman, "Feathering the Text" 1-10).[11] In my doctoral work I apply some of the principles of an animalist reading that I outlined in that study – that is, I *establish the animal as the subject of a work* (or an image) by de-centring the human and foregrounding the animal body, living or dead. For instance, I rarely refer to the experience of an artist, engraver or photographer except where it directly affects how the thylacine is represented; historical characters and their 'achievements' are of less importance than individual animals; and I constantly return to the situation of the living (or dead) animal in the historical era I am dealing with. I also attempt to *give the animal a mediated 'voice'* by suggesting that animal subjectivity can be produced through the engagement of an artist with a living model; that identifying members of the species that served as models for illustrations preserves an aspect of their lives; and that reconstructing the stories of some of the thylacines pictured is vital to understanding and appreciating the loss of the species. Baker contends that the point to emphasize is "that representations have a bearing on shaping 'reality', and that the 'reality' can be addressed only through the representations" (*Picturing the Beast* [2001] xvii). Questions regarding representational strategies for animals threatened now, that Baker and Fudge believe are so relevant in animal studies today (Baker, *Picturing the Beast* xvii; Fudge 9, 15-6), are posed in the Conclusion to this thesis.

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[11] The three works to which I apply this reading are a twelfth century bestiary, "The Nun's Priest's Tale", and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Historical research on bestiaries did not take place until the latter part of the twentieth century and it is only very recently that writers on medieval literature such as Kordecki (1997) have pointed out that "the baggage of centuries of imposed meaning" informs readings of animals in a text and asked questions such as "can we recover [the] distinct presence [of an animal] or will we be perpetually covering over and again its essence with our prioritised desires?" (25-8).

Methods

To test my proposition that visual images of the thylacine in zoological and natural history works in the nineteenth and early twentieth century promoted ideas and encouraged actions that were conducive to the extinction of the animal, I analyse the images using the tools of semiotics, deconstruction and discourse analysis.

Semiotics is the system of signs outlined by Saussaure (1974) that is inherent in any visual image or text. It is by reading these signs that an image is endowed with meaning or significance. Semiotic analysis involves identifying these signs and recognising the complex associations generated by them, including latent or connotative messages (Thwaites et al. 1994). It also includes an awareness of how particular readings construct ideas about an image, the effect of the discourses in which a communication is produced, and the significance that readers attach to the signs in a particular genre or at a certain time. Jonathan Culler defines the study of semiotics as "a zoological pursuit: the semiotician wants to discover what are the species of signs, how they differ from one another, how they function in their native habitat, how they interact with other species" – a particularly appropriate definition in this context (vii-viii). By 'denaturalising' the signs and making the codes in which they operate explicit, I seek to show that the 'reality' some signs appear to present is contestable. In every analysis of the visual images considered, I focus on how the idea of extinction might be expressed. The desire for, lack of interest in, possibility or predictability of extinction can be present in images as signs relating to negativity, death, injury, confinement, fear, inferiority, distortion, otherness, absence, violence, ferocity and ugliness. These elements in a drawing, engraving or photograph may be unconsciously embedded in the image.

I combine this reading of signs with the practice of deconstruction that dismantles the sources of textual power and "teas[es] out the warring forces of signification" in an image or text (Johnson, *The Critical Difference* 5). This method involves looking for inconsistencies and shifts in signification or searching for absences, digressions, contradictions or discontinuities in an image, in the imagetext as a whole, or between image and text.[12] This method identifies where power lies and, by decentring and exposing it, deconstruction dismantles its source. Illustrations and their texts presented as unified scientific or cultural artefacts are shown to be fragmented and self-divided. As Barbara Johnson suggests: "if each text is seen as presenting a major claim that attempts to dominate, erase, or distort

[12] Following W.J.T. Mitchell, I refer to the descriptive words and illustrations in natural history texts considered together as 'imagetext', or as 'image-text' when referring to the relations between them, or as image/text when the gap between them is problematic or there is a rupture in representation (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 89).

various 'other' claims (whose traces nevertheless remain detectable to a reader who goes against the grain of the dominant claim), then 'reading' in its extended sense is deeply involved in questions of authority and power" (Johnson, "On Writing" 56).

Another concern in this thesis is the operation of a variety of discourses that Foucault defines as the rules, systems and procedures that constitute and are constituted by our "will to knowledge". His work suggests that discursive practices are characterised by "a delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories" (*Language* 199). Their effect is to make it virtually impossible to think outside them. Foucault maintains that discourse is constituted by a relation between desire, which wants discourse to be unrestricted, and the institutions that assert that discourse comes into being through constraint and control. "Discourse is a violence we do to things, or in any case a practice we impose on them" (*Order of Discourse* 67). It involves exclusion and prohibition, rarefaction and restriction of access. It is concerned with the exercise and maintenance of power. Critical analysis divides the constituents of discourse, reveals a scarcity of meaning and undermines its mastery. Later, in *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault shifts toward an emphasis on the instability of sections of discourse and the possibility of resistance, as well as the exercise of power. His theories have multiple resonances in the institutions, practices, modes of representation and narratives that frame images of the thylacine in the zoological and natural history works I discuss. The concept of framing and the frames that governed the production and consumption of zoological images in the nineteenth and early twentieth century are discussed in detail in the following chapter – Framing the Image. Specific rhetorical, material and economic discourses governed the production and existence of these illustrations and influenced the way they were, and often still are, read. Identifying these frames is particularly important for understanding the messages the illustrations projected at the time they were published and how they operated in relation to ideas about extinction and the process of the thylacine's extermination.

In addition to these analytical methods, I sometimes step away from the systematic decoding of past cultural connotations toward W.J.T. Mitchell's question "What do pictures want?" in order to activate a reading of the images that privileges the animal. Mitchell realises that the question he poses involves not only the "reification of the vast variety of pictures around a single, essential desire" but also treating inanimate objects as if they were "conscious beings with feelings and desires" ("What Do Pictures Want?" 216). I adapt his question to read – what does this picture want the viewer to feel about the thylacine? Or, does this picture want me to care about the species? This approach acknowledges a form of communication that sometimes takes place between an animal and an artist, it encourages a conflation of picture

(sign) and animal (referent), gives the images the power to look back, and endows the figures they represent with agency to both provoke and return a gaze. By asking this question, the illustrations I look at are subjected to an oppositional reading and the empowered and controlling scientific gaze is undone, enabling what Barthes calls an "ethical connotation" that introduces values into the reading of an image (*Image-Music-Text* 29). It is, of course, a subjective interpretation and, as such, mimics a type of reading that individual viewers of the illustrations in the nineteenth and early twentieth century might also have performed. But how *I* see and what *I* comment on is determined by the purpose and aims of this project: I am attentive to the ways the "pictures call out not only to the mind but ... to thought, and also to emotions" (Leppert 7) in regard to the species' extinction. All the pictures/images I look at are ostensibly of the same animal, yet they 'want' different things. Mitchell's approach is particularly appropriate to this project because it is a direct, simple, focused method of analysing the images that encourages me to demonstrate how an illustration operates and sometimes offers alternate readings to those presumed by their historical frame.

Title

The title of the thesis, "Figuring Extinction", relates to a phrase often used in the nineteenth century for representing zoological subjects. For example, Joseph Wolf's (1820-1899) reference to zoological illustration – "the animal is 'figured'. That is the term." (Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* 101). I have deployed the concept of the 'figure' to organise the images I analyse, to structure the thesis, and to describe its outcome. Meanings of this word given in the *Macquarie Dictionary* and their applicability are:

The visual images discussed here are *figures* (noun) in that they depict "the bodily form or frame" of the thylacine; they appear as "pictorial representation[s] in a book"; and are often read as emblems or types. The humans who were involved in making the images used a variety of processes to *figure* (verb) the animal. That is, they "represent by a ... picture", "depict" or "trace" the thylacine. The result of their practices led viewers to *figure* (verb) – to "conclude, judge, reason or reflect" – that the thylacine was an animal of a particular kind. This thesis also tries to *figure*, that is, to "solve, understand or make out" how images were read, how they contributed to the disappearance of the thylacine, and how animals can be represented in other ways that acknowledge their difference, but ensure their survival.

The title, therefore, has multiple meanings that describe *what* is examined in this thesis, *how* images are made and read, and demonstrates *why* the process of research and synthesis is important.

Structure

The thesis is bound in two volumes to make it easy to read the text and consult the images referred to there. Volume 1 is introduced by a **Prologue** about images of the thylacine made by an Aboriginal Australian community thousands of years ago on an island remote from Tasmania, and the effect of European settlement on the area. It provides a wider temporal, spatial and cultural frame through which to view European images, cultural values and the idea of extinction.

The second chapter, **Framing the Image**, explains my theoretical approach regarding the time, place, nature and publication of the images discussed in the thesis and is designed to give basic and apposite information about aspects of nineteenth and early twentieth century scientific and zoological culture that affected the way the images look and were read. It deals with material, discursive, productive and rhetorical frames.

The images that constitute **Figures 1-6** are grouped on the basis of their similarity of form, intertextual references, symbolic function and/or medium. The Figures (or chapters) are arranged chronologically by the appearance of the first image considered in each. Each chapter consists of a number of analyses of individual figures (or images) arranged according to their first occurrence, and then by the years in which they recur as duplicates, copies, and variations, or their appearance with different texts. Because of these recurrences, the time span covered in each Figure overlaps with the next. I use 'Figure' to refer to all the images covered in a chapter and 'fig.' to refer to an individual illustration. The primary figure within a Figure and exact reproductions of it are referred to, for instance, as '1'; exact, or almost exact copies of this figure, or rendering of it in a different medium, are called 'I(i)', 'I(ii)' etc.; related or variant images or illustrations with a similar message, symbolism, or in the same medium are identified as '1a', '1b', and so on.

At several points between the Figures there are chapters called **transformations**, **variations** and **conversions**. These consist of images that do not fit into the Figures because they vary from the imperatives that organised them and, in the case of those in transformations, because they vary considerably from one another as well, and show how perceptions and images changed over a certain time. The illustrations in variations differ from others occurring from 1880 to 1900 and could have constituted a Figure, but the factors that influenced them are unclear and there was less coherence in this group than in most Figures. Conversions includes images from a wider range of sources than other chapters and forms a closure to the period studied as well as anticipating the future of thylacine images, particularly in Tasmania.

The time periods in the headings for the Figures, transformations, variations and conversions refer to the first and last major occurrences of a particular image within the overall time period 1808-1936. Images, events and ideas occurring outside this larger time period are sometimes mentioned in discussions, consistent with the notion of images and ideas circulating in multiple temporal zones. Sections at the end of most Figures deal with events, ideas or processes particularly relevant to the production of images in the core time period covered in a chapter or to the extinction of the thylacine. For example, the heading of Figure 4 indicates that it deals with images that appeared in works first published between 1850 and 1900 and at the end of that chapter I discuss how Darwin's theories, that appeared in 1859 and were slowly absorbed until generally accepted in the twentieth century, relate to ideas about species' extinction. Several paragraphs at the beginning of each chapter introduce the subject matter discussed and deal briefly with historical or material issues, while the summaries at the end synthesise the content of the chapter or relevance of the period, pinpoint the significance of the findings to the thesis as a whole, and form a bridge to the following chapter.

The **Conclusion** outlines and articulates the results of the research, details how the gap in academic knowledge was filled and how the thesis advances theoretical understanding of the role of images in the extermination of the thylacine and suggests the implications of the findings for the management of conservation issues.

Volume 2 contains the illustrations, arranged in the order in which they are analysed, under the heading **Visualisations**. Each image is placed on a separate page so that it can be viewed in relative isolation without other illustrations affecting the reading. The source of the image cited at the foot of each page relates to the scan or photograph that the particular image is derived from: it may be any one of a number of works in which the image appears, but is usually from the first source mentioned in the Table of Images. An **Index sheet** in a pocket in the back of the volume displays thumbprints of the major images, selected to indicate how the form of the thylacine and the backgrounds used changed in the course of a hundred and thirty years. It also renders copies and transformations easier to detect.

The **Table of Images** is arranged in the order in which the images are discussed in volume 1 and the Visualisations. It includes full citation details of all the works in which the images are found; these details may not be included in the text of the thesis or in the list of works cited unless there is a quotation from the work. The Table also lists the medium, dates of publication, labels applied to each illustration, and whether the works in which they appear are held in a Tasmanian library today. Many of the patterns and trends that are mentioned in the course of the thesis and in the Conclusion are apparent from scanning the columns that

identify the medium of an image, the label a representation is given and if the work in which it appears is held in a Tasmanian institution. The Table is designed to be consulted in conjunction with the text and Visualisations.

The volume concludes with a list of **Works Cited** in the text of the thesis. I use MLA referencing style – acknowledging sources in parenthetical citations in the text that refer to the alphabetical list of works cited. This style was chosen to keep the text as readable and as free from disruptions as possible. The 4th edition of the MLA Handbook has been followed, supplemented by updates from Internet websites. [13] The footnotes consist of comments, explanations, or additional information relating to specific passages in the text. Two **Appendices**, consisting of work relating to the text of the thesis and referred to within it, are bound at the end of Volume 2.

[13] These include updates at http://www.aresearchguide.com/index.html and http://www.bedfordstmartins.com/online/cite5.html#1.

FRAMING THE IMAGE

Visual images of the thylacine in zoological and natural history works are framed by *extratextual* information, often unspecified but presupposed. This information can be generated by *circumtextual* features, such as the physical page, title, the processes that resulted in the visual reproduction of the species; in *intratextual* framing, such as rhetorical codes within a text; and in *intertextual* influences, for instance, the various discursive fields associated with the subject area. These frames operate like multiple voices that attempt to set constraints on how the images are interpreted or understood (MacLachlan and Reid 1- 2). The way an image is framed is therefore a powerful determinate of the way it is read: the illustrations never 'speak for themselves'.

The majority of this chapter deals with the "configuration of framings" (Frow 220) that were dominant when the illustrations were first published in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although I discuss these devices under discrete headings, in practice, the material, discursive and rhetorical frames I mention are entangled and time produces changes in the way an image is understood as one or the other frame competes for precedence. Given the interplay of different frames, the meanings produced by the images are multiple (MacLachlan and Reid 8); those selected for discussion in this thesis are determined by the aims of research – the meanings that relate to the thylacine's extinction.

The last section of this chapter deals with a new framing strategy employed by this thesis: a postcolonial critique of the images. This framing enables an exploration of how discourses, material supports, economic prerogatives and rhetorical texts operated on the image and the viewer in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to produce attitudes and actions that may have encouraged the extermination of the thylacine. This chapter, then, functions on multiple levels – by explaining my analysis of the images in terms that relate to the interpretative modes bound up in the processes of producing and reading the images, both the background of the subject and the methods employed in this thesis are addressed.

The Cultures of Natural History

The overall climate of ideas working on the images in zoological and natural history works was defined by the dominant discourses of science, imperialism and economics that influenced the production of works in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In *What Is This Thing Called Science?* A.F. Chalmers isolates the major tenet of what is usually believed to distinguish scientific knowledge from other kinds of knowledge: "science is based on what we can see, hear and touch rather than on personal opinions or speculative

imaginings. If observation of the world is carried out in a careful, unprejudiced way then the facts established in this way will constitute a secure, objective basis for science" (1). Chalmers notes the authority invested in the widely held claim that science is based on reason and reliable methods. However, in 1890 Ray Lankester, evolutionary biologist and Professor of Zoology at University College London and later Director of the British Museum, brought another perspective to this assumption when he stated:

> all true science deals with speculation and hypothesis, and acknowledges as its most valued servant – its indispensable ally and helpmeet – that which our German friends call 'Phantasie' and we 'the Imagination'. Our science, biology, is not less exact – our conclusions are no less accurate because they are only *probably* true (*Advancement* 4).[14]

Meanwhile in Australia in 1922, the new president of the Royal Zoological Society of New South Wales J. H. Campbell wrote, "underlaying all science are certain general ideas, the absolute truth of which we can never hope to prove, but without which we cannot establish any relation between observed facts" (Campbell 6). Bernard Smith maintains that the emphasis on empirical observation and the study of environments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century meant that it was therefore "much more difficult for the European imagination to fantasise about monsters at the ends of the earth" (*Imagining the Pacific* 28). Images of the thylacine in natural history works, however, show how readily a "monster" was constructed by simply re-figuring the perceived form and characteristics of more familiar European predators, especially in the popular natural history works that proliferated over the course of the study period. While Chalmers accepts the need for scepticism regarding science and makes a strong case for the claim that "scientific knowledge can neither be conclusively proved nor disproved by reference to the facts", he attempts to capture what he calls the "distinctive and special" features of science. Dunlap, on the other hand, raises the question of semantics when he comments that while the intellectual activity of "modern science" dates from the seventeenth century, 'scientist' as a social role only developed in the nineteenth. He also notes that while natural history was a distinct field by the eighteenth century, 'zoology' was not ranked as a science until John Ray raised its status in 1874; Darwin, therefore, was technically a 'naturalist' (5-6). Whether the illustrations in the works discussed in this thesis are part of 'natural history' or 'zoology', the rhetoric that surrounds them indicates that they were considered to be a product of what Chalmers states

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[14] Stephen J. Gould's paper on the friendship between Karl Marx and Lankester comments on the latter's admiration for German "intellectual excellence", as well as his scepticism and reforming spirit in relation to science ("A Darwinian Gentleman" 32-66).

was, and still is, believed to be the "especially meritorious" and objective processes of science (xix).

Events before and during the period under study encouraged immense interest in and generation of material relating to zoological subjects. For instance, new systems of classification developed by Cuvier and Buffon in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century sought to define the relations between species – that is, to impose new meanings, order and control on animal and plant life – while the binominal taxonomy suggested in the tenth edition of Linnaeus' *Systema Natura* published in 1758 "stimulated questions concerning the relationships between life and environment, anticipating the study of ecology" (Smith, *Imagining the Pacific* 28). The Australian colonies generated an enormous quantity of raw 'zoological data' to be processed and classified. The recording of animals in the Antipodes consisted of sketching, painting, capturing, killing, packing animals in spirits, drying carcases, and stretching skins. There was a struggle for the specimen, with early settlers collecting flora and fauna to sell and transport on ships returning to England (Bonyhady, *Skottowe Manuscript* 19). Every week hundreds of unusual specimens were unloaded at the docks in London from sailing ships returning from abroad. Dealers, taxidermists and collectors bought them to fuel the craze for natural history sweeping Europe. Dead and living animals were also brought back for documentation, dissection, discussion and naming by scientists working at the new museums, zoological societies and zoos that had recently been established in Paris, London, Leiden, Berlin, and that later appeared in Sydney, Melbourne, New York and Washington. Kathleen Dugan notes that this faunal material was interpreted within the framework of European theoretical debates and that because British scientists doubted the competence of colonial observers they were likely to "reject any empirical evidence that violated European expectations unless it could be verified independently by a member of the European scientific community" ("Zoological Exploration" 81).

Harriet Ritvo remarks "indeed as the building up of this flood [of raw data] was one inspiration for the intense attention to classification that characterised eighteenth and nineteenth century natural history, so the ability to accommodate it, at least in principle, was one of the standards by which taxonomic systems were judged" (*The Platypus and the Mermaid* 11). The 'type specimen', the first of a species found by Europeans and deemed to typify the group, was of particular interest to zoologists and there was much competition and debate in defining and classifying Australian marsupials, such as the thylacine, that were often considered perversions of nature because they could not be easily accommodated by

the systems, which had been developed in response to animals familiar to Europeans.[15] Attitudes toward animals of this kind are exemplified in the words above a tiny drawing of a platypus on the cover of the first minutes of The Tasmanian Society in 1841 that reads, "all things are queer and opposite" (Tasmanian Society). Classification became a particularly contentious issue, with the reputation and authority of individual scientists often shifting as a result of new findings about these animals. Ritvo argues that the discovery of marsupials and monotremes, such as those found in Australia, created "a vacuum of zoological authority, if not of power" in England, for instance, when rival systematists Charles Darwin, G.R. Waterhouse and Richard Owen debated the relationship between monotremes and marsupials and whether the platypus laid eggs (*The Platypus and the Mermaid* 14). Many writers have noted the superiority and power inherent in the acts of classifying, describing and naming species, for instance, Veit (1981), Birke (1992), Griffiths (1996) and Ritvo (1990, 1997), Birke commenting specifically on the "assumptions of European superiority" in scientific names that often include those of British imperialists (33). This was sometimes a symptom of patronage, but Ritvo notices that the British Association for the Advancement of Science specifically discouraged the commemoration of "persons of no scientific reputation" and also indigenes, so stresses that 'system' was a means of "consolidating the intellectual dominion of science over nature, especially in exotic subject territories" ("Power of the Word" 7; *Platypus* 18-9). However, she points out that in the early decades of the nineteenth century classification was replaced on the "cutting edge of zoology" by physiology and that "Linnaeus himself powerfully exemplified the increasing prestige and authority of internationalised expertise" ("Power of the Word" 16-9).

Later in the nineteenth century Charles Darwin's theory of evolution had a radical impact on colonial investigations. His emphasis on natural selection, the idea of species filling ecological niches and the effects of the isolation of islands encouraged zoological fieldwork and palaeontology in the colonies. But while science progressed, the novelist Marcus Clarke showed how lived experience in colonies such as Tasmania also contributed towards "shaping imaginations" of those in both worlds by the 1880s. He wrote, "in Australia alone is to be found the Grotesque, the Weird, the strange scribblings of nature learning how to write" (quoted in Gibson, *Diminishing Paradise* 13). In the late nineteenth century theories of *ecology*, the word coined by Haeckel for the study of animals in relation to their environment, were developed by Davenport (1897-9) and Semper (1879-81) and the influence of environmental factors on physiological development, protective colouration, behaviour and geographical distribution of animals were explored (Taton, *Science*

[15] For a discussion of the problems Australian animals in general presented for eighteenth and nineteenth century scientists wishing to classify them, see Ritvo (1997), Moyal (2001) and Eco (1999).

Nineteenth Century 368). By the early twentieth century, microscopy, photography and cinematography were transforming the new biological sciences (Taton, *Science Twentieth Century* 414-33). The animal body could now be more closely examined than it had ever been.

The interest in colonial animals had become explicitly economic as well as scientific by the middle of the nineteenth century. An advertisement for *Zoological Sketches*, published in 1861 and commissioned by the Zoological Society of London, says the project was "undertaken with the object of preserving a faithful record of the living characters of the most rare and interesting Animals" in the Zoological Gardens and with the object of possible *acclimatisation* as "objects of economic value" (Sclater, *Guide 1869* 60).[16] Natural history works also assume a didactic tone and so possessed considerable potential to influence the development of attitudes in the general population. For instance, a book in the Crowther collection, State Library of Tasmania, by the Inspector of Schools in Victoria, Australia, explains the need to assess whether an animal was harmful or beneficial (to humans). This section of the text goes on to stress the importance of "knowing how to preserve the beneficial and destroy the injurious", that may mean "vast sums of money to a nation" (Long 39). By the early twentieth century there was a proliferation of books on Economic Zoology, one of which notes, "it is only right that the vast material resources of the animal kingdom should be fully exploited in the interests of mankind" at the same time as the purely academic and educational value of biological studies be stressed. The author links this enterprise with the need for those who "control the purse strings of the nation" to justify their expenditure on "Zoological Science" (Dendy vi). Discussing earlier colonial practices, Janet Browne comments "the conceptual framework, methodologies and practical techniques developed to deal with foreign animals and plants took their tone directly from those used in national expansion" (305), while Ritvo discusses the discourses of zoo keeping and hunting that "justified and celebrated Britain's imperial enterprise" (*Animal Estate* 5). Thus, as the century progressed it is apparent that the discourses of science, zoology and economics became even more politically linked in the zoological and natural history works discussed. These *intertextual* framing elements had an impact on both the production and consumption of the images they contain.

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[16] Given that acclimatisation was one of the objects of bringing the animals in *Zoological Sketches* to the attention of readers, it is interesting that the thylacine – an animal represented in so many publications as a vicious predator - was included in the 1861 edition of this work (see in Figure 3).

Zoological and Natural History Works

The majority of images considered in this thesis were published in the genre of *natural history* works – the term used for the study of zoology, botany and geology – or in works that specifically dealt with *zoology*. The format of these works was determined by a system of conventional relationships between text, image, subject matter, purpose and readership that produced a set of generic codes that enabled them to be recognised as works of this kind. In her book on natural history, Lynn Barbar comments that while "Nature" meant animal, vegetable, and mineral life, before 1850 the study of animals was sometimes referred to as the study of 'animated nature', as in *The Pictorial Museum of Animated Nature.* After 1860 'naturalist' often referred to someone who studied animals only, as 'botanist' and 'geologist' were then in use. Later, the word 'biology' embraced botany, zoology, comparative anatomy and physiology. Barbar mentions, however, that there is no consistency in the use of these terms (27-8). I use the term 'zoological work' to refer to a book or journal that describes animals alone and 'natural history work' to indicate one that includes a wider range of subjects. The latter was usually a popular publication. These works constitute the major generic site in which definitive ideas about the thylacine were expressed and constructed, particularly in the nineteenth century before improvements in production processes resulted in the use of photographs in the mass media. However, the construction of the thylacine was, in turn, affected by writing about animals in earlier works, as indicated by the books that the first illustrator of the thylacine, surveyor George Harris, asked to be sent from England: *Shaw's General Zoology*, *Bingley's Animal Biography* and *Pinkerton's Modern Geography* (Hamilton-Arnold 82). Both academic and popular zoological and natural history works were often closely associated with scientific institutions, zoos and museums and interacted with the ideas disseminated by these bodies. But whether they were or not, as scientific productions they carried claims of authority and the location of many in the library of the Royal Society of Tasmania and in museums in Victoria and New South Wales indicate that they were regarded as reference works and sources of knowledge about animals. Imagetexts in these works constitute the most detailed, varied and readily available delineations of the thylacine in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and, especially by the late nineteenth century, were often re-presented for wider consumption in general works, magazines and newspapers.

Books dealing with zoology and natural history were only one of the vehicles of communication for scientific institutions, zoologists and amateur naturalists in the nineteenth century. Journals such as *Transactions of the Linnean Society, Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania* and *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* published articles

that were on the cutting-edge of scientific discovery, but as interest in the colonies and natural history increased, printing techniques and production improved, and as the book trade flourished, there was a proliferation of zoological and natural history books for the general public, particularly in Britain.[17] The many publications listed in the back of books such as E. Percival Wright's *Mammalia: Their Various Forms and Habits* c1892 give an indication of the scope of works produced and marketed by the end of the nineteenth century. Works in English include books on insects, pigeons, bird life, "the world of the sea", wild animals, the dog, moths, butterflies and wild flowers; while works by the Frenchman Figuier, such as *The World Before the Deluge*, *The Vegetable World* and *Reptiles and Birds*, were "revised and corrected by eminent English authorities". Many of the titles suggest that the increase in information about natural species, spaces and places that resulted from the acquisition of colonies led European writers to construct multiple "worlds", perceived as endlessly varied and infinitely complex, but essentially different from their own environment. Some zoological works were comprehensive and describe the whole animal kingdom, others just one class of fauna or the specimens in a collection or museum. In the early part of the nineteenth century species were arranged under the headings of various classification systems but, later, systematic arrangement disappeared with popular science and natural history books often emphasising the savagery or other behaviour of animals in their organisation. This arrangement was consistent with developments in the study of zoology and an indication of a desire to amaze, as well as educate, growing middle and lower middle class audiences. New visual media and visual perceptions of animals were also explored and exploited to such ends.

Children's books, a popular and influential genre in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, are among the most overlooked vehicles for the framing and insemination of ideas about animals and natural history generally. One of the most interesting images of the thylacine appeared in a German children's encyclopaedia published from 1798 and 1930. The preface to this work outlines the author's ideas regarding the significance of a book of engravings for children and outlines the qualities such a work should have – it must be good without being too valuable; it should be "abandoned to the entire use of the child"; he [sic] must have the freedom to "use it like a toy" and to leaf through it at any time; to decorate it and even to cut out the engravings and glue them onto card. The plates are bound on the left side and the commentary sheet on the right, "because children are more active with their right hand than their left, which they have the habit of using to point at what they are looking at or are showing to others" and the engravings follow each other "without any system or

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[17] *The Naturalist in Britain* by David Allen is a detailed study of the subject, including the popularity of natural history works, in Britain. How this popularity affected illustrations of the thylacine is discussed in Figure 2.

apparent order, and with as much variety as possible" so that a child will be continually entertained and instructed without getting bored or tired (Bertuch 1: Preface, trans. Liz Koolhof). Hurlimann points out that "throughout the eighteenth century the appetite of children for books [in Europe] was difficult to satiate" and British counterparts, such as Goldsmith in *The Pictorial Museum of Animated Nature*, state similar merits and aims of such literature – for the purposes of "instruction and delight", "executed with scientific accuracy", "adapted for the gratification of a rational desire for knowledge, and for advancing the best objects of ... domestic education" (Hurlimann xiii; Goldsmith, *The History of the Earth, 1855* forepage).

Before 1900 only a few zoological and natural history works were produced in Australia and therefore most of the images discussed in this thesis are found in works published in Britain or Continental Europe. Early in the nineteenth century there was a very small colonial market for illustrated books on natural history (Bonyhady, *The Skottowe Manuscript* 32) so for those who owned them, especially the sumptuous productions of John Gould and multi-volume zoological works such as Jardine's *Naturalist's Library*, they were a mark of prestige. Many of these works, especially those illustrated with large, detailed, hand-coloured engravings were expensive and private libraries were showplaces for displaying books that were "splendidly bound, spaciously printed and lavishly illustrated" (Dance 68). Some were released in parts and made available by subscription to allay the high cost of production, with a list of subscribers printed in the back or front of the book serving as recommendation for purchasing later editions. Zoological works, therefore, had a connection with status and power, especially in the colonies. Those who owned books were in possession of an aesthetically desirable commodity as well as 'knowledge' about animals that often emanated from prestigious European scientific institutions. By the late nineteenth century Australia and America had began to produce more titles in the genre and, as attitudes toward animals began to change, production and consumption of works increased. However, as late as 1918 the president of the Royal Zoological Society of New South Wales bemoaned the absence of Australian natural history handbooks, attributing it to the limited market in Australia compared to Britain; the cost of printing locally and publishing properly illustrated works; and the number of species in each branch of natural history being very much larger in Australia than in Great Britain (Bassett Hull 140-1). In 1922 the then president of the Society was so concerned about the lack of a "general zoological survey" of Australian fauna that he suggested the "discontinuance of the [Society's major publication] *Australian Zoologist* ... and the allocation of the savings thus effected to the Handbook Fund" (Campbell 4). Deficiencies in figures of the thylacine in zoological works could be related to a lack of Australian publications, but when illustrations do appear in the few titles

emanating from that region they are usually copies of images in British works. By the early twentieth century worldwide production, dissemination and circulation of natural history and zoological works was immense, as demonstrated by the number of titles containing photographs of the thylacine discussed in Figures 5 and 6, in multiple titles featuring many of the images, and in works originating in America. Some of the latter were associated with the role of American institutions in fostering environmental consciousness and concern, as discussed in Figures 5, 6 and conversions; however, the images in several influential Australian publications may have had a more profound effect on perceptions of the thylacine. These *circumtextual* frames, therefore, contributed to varying degrees in determining how the images in the works were received, digested and interpreted in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Zoological Illustration

The way an illustration is perceived is not only controlled by its location in the genre of zoological or natural history works, but also by elements within the work that operate *intratextually*, such as the idea of 'scientific' or the concept of 'zoological illustration' itself and how images sit, metaphorically, within the texts that surround them. John Berger comments that the nineteenth century saw the development of a phenomenon where animals were transformed into spectacle and were always seen through the frame of a picture, the bars of a cage, binoculars, or later the camera lens (15-26). A 'specimen' of an animal discovered for the first time by Europeans in the colonies was an object to be examined and documented, generally and in minute detail. A drawing or engraving in a zoological work supplied what was perceived as a 'definitive' representation for the classification of new species, the identification of dead animals sent to museum collections and the recognition of live ones in the exploration of newly acquired countries, or for sporting purposes. The distance of the colonies from Britain and the Continent was an additional factor in the importance given to visual images. Murray's *Encyclopaedia of Geography* defines the usefulness of illustrations when asserting that they were of "the greatest utility in conveying an infinitely better idea of the objects than could be derived from the most laboured description" (vii). The preface to *Bilderbuch für Kinder* emphasises the importance of sight and therefore "exact and well-printed images" in the education of children. Skilful engraving, "true representation" and exact proportions are considered essential to the development of "good taste", while the facility with which a child seizes upon the first impressions that the figures make and how difficult it is, later, to "erase false ideas that he has received from it" is particularly stressed. This is why, Bertuch writes, "the engravings are everything, good and bad, they can either be very useful or very harmful to children.

That is why such a book of engravings must absolutely not be drawn and composed according to the whim of a draughtsman" (Bertuch preface, trans. Liz Koolhof). Bertuch's fears regarding the actions of draughtsmen are realised many times in the natural history works discussed in this thesis. In 1936 many of these ideas are repeated in a book about illustrating zoological papers: "now children learn readily from pictures – and so do zoologists. A good picture is worth pages of writing, for zoologists on the whole are busy people, and do not have time to wade through pages of description without explanatory illustrations" (Cannon ix).

Bernard Smith notes that in the early days of colonial 'discovery' drawing from life with some degree of *plein air* derivation was preferred to drawing from stuffed skins because, as Thomas Pennant recorded in his book *British Zoology* published 1768-70, if artists did not know an animal's "different connections, manner of living, and places of abode" they would "fall into manifest absurdities" (quoted in Smith, *Imagining the Pacific* 37). However, only one engraving of a thylacine in a zoological work produced during the lifetime of the thylacine was made from a living animal in the wilds of Van Diemen's Land, and this by an enterprising colonial official. All subsequent images of the species in nineteenth century works were made by artists in Europe from animals in museums or the artificial location of a zoo, or were copies of existing images; or they were executed by artists in other Australian colonies, working from museum specimens or photographs. Early illustrations usually concentrated on the physical form of the animal, its shape, proportions, markings and sometimes colour. Smith notes that natural history artist, George Edwards, whose books were taken by Banks on HMS *Endeavour*, advised to draw the *type* rather than the "individual specimen with all its imperfections" (*Imagining the Pacific* 36-8), therefore, there was always a tension between the evidence before the artist and his/her understanding of classification and desire to meet the requirements of the scientific community. While the artist's role was seen as recording the 'truth', Potts points out that "the conventions governing [illustrations] are nothing like as intricate or systematic as those regulating the accompanying scientific text" (12-13). Potts also writes that "no images, even scientific illustrations, can be purely neutral records" – what was considered the aesthetic dimension of an image, what made it "vivid", was seen as integral to its scientific function as a clear and coherent display of knowledge. He discovers (as I do) that the "acceptability" of illustrations in scientific works is often determined by these "conventions of pictorial aesthetics" (12). In addition to this finding, many illustrations of the thylacine do not conform to any notion of 'accuracy' – that is, they do not resemble photographed images of the species taken from any angle, in any position; often they illustrate behaviour inconsistent with available evidence about the species. Indeed, the idea of 'accuracy' in relation to zoological images is

problematic, especially when the subject or model used for an illustration in a scientific work is an individual. It posits the question: can any illustration truly *represent* the species in all its variations.

Some distortions of form can be explained by the fact that many figures were modelled on remnants of dead animals in recently established museums such as the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris and the British Museum of Natural History in London, that were developed in response to the rise of science, a taste for the exotic and a broadening of public education (Mullan and Marvin 121). In these museums the skins, stuffed mounts, or dried specimens were themselves constructions, incorporating the needs of the zoologist, the ideas and skills (or lack of them) of the taxidermist, and modifications made in the process of tanning. Having only the remnants of animal bodies to work with, the taxidermist often produced distorted impressions, while ignorance of the behaviour of certain species resulted in unfamiliar animals often being mounted in poses more appropriate for European species. Storage constraints meant that dried specimens had their bodies folded to fit into drawers and their eyes stopped with wool or fabric.[18] Later, illustrations improved as zoos provided living models for thylacine illustrations. In many ways these places were themselves like animated natural history books, featuring a sequence of animals in taxonomical arrangement, a background of exotic architectural structures and vegetation and, for the visitor, a recommended route with the progression to each cage functioning like the turn of a page. At the French Jardin de Plantes, the alignment of cages reproduced the layout of the cabinets of curiosities "giving its occupants the status of the constituents of a collection" expressing the importance of systematic analysis. Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier note that zoos were "both showcases for and instruments of imperial dominion", with the societies that grew up around them exemplifying the "exploitation that might legitimise colonisation and make it profitable" (136-7). The thylacine was displayed in zoos in London, Berlin, Paris and Melbourne in the nineteenth century (Moeller 138-69) and the backgrounds of illustrations derived from these zoos often reflect the unnatural or contrived situation of the models rather than the native habitat of the animal.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a number of factors – possibly the influence of romantic sensibilities and what is called 'German Expressionism' together with insights from Darwin's theories – resulted in illustrations in zoological works that tend to focus on the interaction of animals with their environment. The imperatives of this style demanded

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[18] Museums today contain thousands of specimens collected during the nineteenth century. Hundreds lie on such positions in grey metal drawers, while stuffed and mounted animals gaze blindly from floors and the tops of cabinets in basements and storehouses, too valuable to be discarded and often too many to be economically recorded, displayed or accessed.

an observation of living animals or an artist's ability to bring mounted specimens 'to life'. Illustrations become more pictorial, especially in publications designed for the general public; figures are 'naturalistically' posed, rather than arranged as 'specimens', and they show dramatic examples of animals in the 'wild' (Potts 18). The ultimate development of this style is apparent in a set of images of the thylacine mostly made by German artists after 1880, but also in occasional examples from earlier in the century. The artist who pioneered this type of work was Joseph Wolf, a lithographer who illustrated many scientific and popular natural history and zoological works. Wolf trained at the Natural History Museum in Leiden and at art academies in Darmstadt and Antwerp, where studying human and animal anatomy, copying landscape art, and drawing from nature in the open air was part of the curriculum (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 69-104, 44). His catchcry was "we see distinctly only what we know thoroughly" (Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* 99). Wolf's representations of animals combined aesthetics and the techniques of Dutch landscape art with a 'scientific' attention to detail and form gained from his constant observation of natural behaviour (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 75-95). One of his mentors, Johann Kaup, stated

> it is expected of a natural history artist that he is himself a zoologist, that he makes rigorous studies from life and from freshly dead animals so that he can contentiously and precisely capture in rapid inspired strokes the posture of the living or dead creature and, using callipers, all the body proportions (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 95).

This statement captures the modes of operation that produced the type of illustration that these artists aspired to. Potts comments that by the second half of the century in general zoological images were no longer trapped within a "dead schema of a system of representation" exemplified in the former stiff, profile illustrations of animal specimens (21). Allan Ellenius also detects a "crucial shift" in wildlife painting in the mid-nineteenth century and notes the collision of "taxonomic accuracy" with "the ambition to preserve the fickleness and instability of visual experience" that results in the first examples of what he terms "ecological vision" in zoological images (148-165).

Taking all such circumtextual framing factors into consideration, Barthes' comments about drawings in general also apply to zoological illustration and particularly to the idea of 'accuracy': "the operation of the drawing (the coding) immediately necessitates a certain division between the significant and the insignificant; the drawing does not produce *everything* (often it produces very little), without it ceasing to be a strong message". He adds, "there is no drawing without style" (*Image-Music-Text* 43). Smith also concedes that

"language [and memory][19] normally mediates powerfully at every act of visual perception" (*Imagining the Pacific* 36-8, 54) and from the vantage point of the twenty-first century it is not difficult to see that the ideals natural history artists strove for at various times in the nineteenth century were rarely accomplished in the case of the thylacine. Early images were often distorted for classification purposes, with producers drawing attention to perceived value, unusual characteristics, or similarities to more familiar species, or to the boundaries of classification, or other factors in zoological theory. Many later figures embody European fears, prejudices, desires or fantasies. In short, "they are the products of human consciousness – part and parcel of human culture and history" (Leppert 3) and not simply reducible to the ideas producers, consumers and the discourse they belong to project onto them. These images produce reality rather than mirror it and thereby constitute relations of power and difference (Thomas, *Reading Images 7*). Figures of the thylacine in zoological works show most clearly the mediated nature of what was *re-presented.* Occasionally, however, in a few of the preparatory drawings that have survived, some layers of mediation are peeled away, the individual response of an artist to a particular animal is detectable and the constructed nature of the printed figures is particularly apparent.

By the end of the nineteenth century new and improved techniques for printing illustrations made the "exactly repeatable pictorial statement" about an animal species commonplace (Ivins 93) and then in the early twentieth century photography transformed the significance and function of the zoological illustration. Contemporary reviews of Graham Renshaw's *Natural History Essays*, a book published in 1904 about "species now verging on extinction", stress the novelty and significance of the photographs the book contains. For example, one review considers "the illustrations from photographs of many animals not to be found in ordinary collections greatly add to the value of the book", while another notes the "excellent examples of animal photography" that are included in the work (In Renshaw, *More Essays* ii-iv). Tom Griffiths remarks that the invention of the camera was the "culmination of this western quest for visibility and lifelike representation" and that "like taxidermy, both [anthropology and the camera] violated their subject, were scientific *and* historic, constituted acts of collection that presupposed and transcended death" (25). But as Haraway notes, "there is no unmediated photograph or passive camera obscura in scientific accounts of bodies ... there are only highly specific visual possibilities, each with wonderfully detailed, active, partial ways of organising worlds" ("Persistence of Vision"

[19] Memories from a classical education may have influenced the way the thylacine is depicted in a drawing by the Surveyor of Van Diemen's Land, George Harris that, in its engraved form, became the first illustration of the species in a European work. See Figure 1.

193). In the case of the thylacine, this "mediation" sometimes took the form of posing or reframing the subject so that it resembled much earlier illustrations.

Production Processes

Images are also framed by the circumstances of their material production that result in *intratextual* messages that "order or organise the perception of the viewer" (MacLachlan and Reid 12-13). Being aware of the processes that generated the images draws attention to the constructed nature of ideas about the thylacine. Almost all the images in the natural history works produced in the nineteenth century are some form of engraving or lithograph, production methods that culminated in the discovery and exploitation of photography (Ivins 93). These different processes are apparent in every line and shadow of a print, in the signatures on their margins or the lack of them, in their location in the works that contain them, in the form the figures take and the feelings the images engender.

Engraving

The first prints were made from material remaining in *relief* after an image was incised into wood. That is, the space gouged out of the soft plank side of a wood block produced a 'white line' and the drawing was reversed, but this method was limited in the fineness of line and detail it could produce and not suited to mass reproductions. The technique referred to as 'wood engraving', revived by Thomas Berwick and used to produce the illustrations in *The General History of Quadrupeds* and *The History of British Birds* at the end of the eighteenth century, is considered to have revolutionised the representation of animals and printmaking in general (Dance 80-2; Knight, *Zoological Illustration* 63). Berwick used the harder, end-grain of the boxwood and, because the blocks were smaller, they could be printed simultaneously with type, illustrations could be inserted into the text if desired, and the production of printed material was speeded up for a mass audience. This "peculiarly nineteenth century medium" (Ivins 97) was used extensively for the illustration of magazines, catalogues, books and newspapers and is the most common method used to produce the images of the thylacine examined from Figure 1 to variations. The images this method produced retain an incised quality, as illustrations are made up of smooth lines produced by elliptical tool marks; they are distinct and definite, impart an impression of fixity, tend to be unambiguous and were therefore considered ideally suited to scientific works. Bachelard writes, "engraving, of all the arts, is incapable of deception" (31). Accentuating this notion, most wood engravings are black and white, with no addition of colour to the printed image, but signatures - the marks of the makers - are usually white.

David Knight maintains that when woodcuts could not supply enough detail to cope with the complicated taxonomy required to classify the new creatures reported by explorers, travellers and settlers, engraved copper plates, sometimes acid-etched when a sharp line was required, were used to solve the problem (*Zoological Illustration* 50). Steel supplied an even more robust material from which thousands of impressions could be made. As with woodcuts, printing reverses the image, but it is an *intaglio* process not a relief one; that is, the line printed is one in which the ink stays in the incised depressions. As this process is different from printing type, illustrations from metal engravings are grouped together without type on the back of the page, and are often placed at the back of the book rather than spread throughout as are wood engravings. The same tools are used for wood, copper and steel engravings (Saff and Sacilotto 69) all of which could produce very fine detail, although metal engravings are particularly effective in suggesting fur, textured skin and feathers. Several images I discuss were produced by this method and appear in works that were first published in the 1830s and 1840s. Their finely clustered lines are complex and tangled and appear as jagged scratches when examined through a magnifying glass. But engravings of the thylacine produced from metal plates do not have the *explicit* character of wood engravings and, although there is more fine detail in the images, they have a harsh quality and their definition is diffused.

With both these techniques, a printing plate was produced from an original drawing and usually, but not always, the picture was either inscribed with an artist's name followed by del. or delt. (delineated) usually on the lower left corner, and/or an engraver's name followed by sc. (inscribed) usually on the right hand corner. Sometimes an artist cut his or her own block, but more often the plate was produced in an engraver's shop where it may have been copied by an engraver's draughtsperson (who may or may not have viewed the original) onto the engraver's block (Ivins 97).[20] As a result, the imprint of an engraving company often replaces an artists's signature and there is usually a considerable difference between an original drawing and the engraved version of it. Ivins says that often "the responsibility for pictorial statement [was] bypassed" (99) and it is not surprising that the artist who made the 'original' drawing was often dissatisfied with the final print. In the case of thylacine illustrations, there are sometimes considerable differences between a drawing and its printed image even when the same person executed them. But relations of difference between drawing and published print are not necessarily simple and direct. For instance, Bernard Smith finds similarities between sketches of Tierra del Fuegans by Buchan on Cook's

[20] Ivins gives an example of the transference of a simple pencil drawing made on the front in the Crimean War that was used to produce a very much larger, more elaborate and detailed print. A number of engravers executed the final block, which was finally a third or fourth-hand account of "what things were supposed to look like" (98).

Endeavour voyage and the technique, setting and placement of figures in an earlier *engraving* of two Californian women in a 1726 book, *A Voyage Round the World.* That is, Buchan was using a drawing technique developed through imitating engravings (Smith, *Imagining the Pacific* 59-61). Similarly, the producers of some wood engravings of the thylacine appear to have effectively mimicked the appearance of engravings printed from metal plates (Rod Ewins pers. comm. 2003).[21] Smith also points out that the processes of modification occurring between the time an item of information was recorded in the field (or in the menagerie) and its appearance in a publication were particular to each situation and cannot necessarily be explained in terms of the conventions of a time (*Imagining the Pacific* 39). The discovery of similarities and differences, evidence of the constraints of convention, limitations and difficulty in identifying techniques are just some manifestations of the gap between drawings and engravings of the thylacine. Often it is apparent that it was during this complex process that an individual animal became a type "with the impersonality of an icon" (Smith, *Imagining the Pacific* 69).

Lithography

In the second half of the nineteenth century the cheaper printing method of lithography (Greek, meaning 'stone writing') was a common medium of natural history illustrations and resulted in more images being included in a text. This process is neither relief nor intaglio, but is a *planographic* method that employs an essentially chemical process to produce an image. A drawing is made with a greasy crayon on limestone, then gum arabic and nitrate acid rubbed into the material changes its molecular structure so that when ink is applied it adheres to the crayon marks, but not the stone. Fine details are more difficult to achieve, but tonal qualities are easily suggested and it is possible for a drawing to be made directly onto the stone.[22] The result is a more spontaneous delineation produced by the broad, fluid line of a crayon and the tonal planes it produces. It is a much softer or subtler image than that produced by the black and white linear imprint of engravings. Lithographs often mimic pastel drawings or pencil sketches. Illustrations of the thylacine made with this method have a delicate, pictorial quality; they are understated, often ambiguous or deceptive and achieve their objectives by using stylistic devices, rather than the pictorial signifiers or intertextual references by which an engraving more commonly conveys its messages.

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[21] I am grateful to Assoc. Professor Rod Ewins, former head of the printmaking department at the Centre for the Arts University of Tasmania, for assisting me in the often difficult task of identifying particular techniques and processes involved in zoological illustrations. See also Gascoigne *How to Identify Prints* (1986).

[22] I am grateful to Kaye Green, Centre for the Arts, University of Tasmania, for supplying me with a demonstration of lithographic techniques.

No matter what the method of production, many of the illustrations in natural history works were coloured by hand until late in the nineteenth century. The same image in different copies of a book may have been coloured by different artisans; sometimes black and white illustrations were coloured by the owner of a publication, so colour may be relatively recent and, as they can also change with exposure to temperatures and light (Knight, *Zoological Illustration* 40), I have not as a rule taken colour into account in my assessment of images. In the case of lithographs, however, colouring was sometimes applied during printing (chromolithography) and produced intense results that inevitably affect the reading of an image. The arrangement of images in a work can also relate to the technique that produced them: early illustrations (in books considered high quality) placed one animal on a plate, each on separate sheets that were often in the back of a book, or if dispersed throughout, printed on one side only so no ink or colour showed through. Where many animals appear on a page or illustrations are uncoloured, it may be evidence of economic considerations, particularly when they appear in cheaper editions and during the depression of the 1840s. Sometimes, however, related species are shown on a page to draw comparisons and aid recognition; for example, marsupials or opossums are sometimes put side by side. Later in the nineteenth century, different classes of animals – birds, mammals, invertebrates – are depicted in the same habitat to indicate a food chain, or with plants to indicate their interaction with plant species in a 'web of life'. Developments in science, economics and the practicalities of publishing were intricately linked in the production of images.

Photography

When photographs of animals began to be used to illustrate natural history books in the early twentieth century, the size, arrangement, quality and content of illustrations changed again. Photographs invariably show a single thylacine, rarely a pair; illustrations are placed in the text or, sometimes, larger ones are grouped together with those showing other single animals. Early in the century photographs of animals were often interspersed with photographs of paintings or drawings and all were black and white or, rather, shades of grey. In addition, many photographs are indistinct or blurred, and in the case of the thylacine, where all the animals photographed were resident in zoos, their location is anything but 'natural'. Photographs, therefore, present a very different impression of the species than that projected in engravings and lithographs where background features were chosen for their appeal and design function, to convey a mood, or project an inference. And in the same way that the medium of nineteenth century prints was integral to the messages they produced, so the processes, claims and limitations of photography were crucial to the role photographs would play in the representation of the thylacine and the narrative of the species' extinction.

In the late 1830s the invention of daguerretype and photogenic drawing, or photography, was hailed as an important scientific discovery and read before the Academy of Sciences in France and the Royal Society of Great Britain. Photography used the potential of light to cast a shadow and the properties of silver nitrate to fix an impression on prepared paper, producing an indelible image. The process was admired for the detail and permanency of the picture it produced, and was perceived as "*marvellous*", as "*natural magic*" and an alternative to drawing (Talbot 25). Late in the nineteenth century the reproduction of photographs for printing in books, magazines and newspapers was facilitated by the development of the half-tone screen. Ivins remarks that its importance lies in the fact that the lines of the process, as distinct from the lines of the visual report, can be outside the field of normal vision and because it enabled the mass reproduction of photographs, the procedure transformed books, magazines and visual culture in general (176-7). However, the thylacine in a zoo was an erratic and disinterested object in the camera's viewfinder and it was almost impossible to avoid including the wire mesh and concrete of its often badly lit enclosure in a picture. Some photographs showed evidence of distortion as the camera failed to adjust the effect of the angle of vision as an artist does. Technical limitations such as shutter speed in early cameras meant that any movement of the animal resulted in a blurred image. To compensate, some photographs were retouched, backgrounds were blanked out, animals 'posed', and tricks were imposed on the negative, the print or the viewer. Despite their limitations and transformations, however, photography was perceived as different from previous picture-making traditions and photographs as either "accurate and faithful to the objects or scenes they represented" or "integumental likenesses – as passive *recordings* of pre-existing sights" (Snyder 175-6, 183). Because they were perceived as 'evidence' about an animal, supposedly above individual subjectivity, the 'artist's eye' or imagination, photographs of the thylacine in natural history works accumulate authority over and above that held by previous methods of illustration.

In all these processes of pictorial reproduction the engagement of the artist, engraver, lithographer, photographer, craftsman, technician and/or printer with the material he or she used – the grit of a pencil, the fibre of wood, the subdued gloss and resistance of metal, the absorbent weight of limestone, the paraphernalia of the camera, the printing machinery and the pristine limpness of damp paper – mediates the shaping of a preliminary drawing into a mechanically reproducible print. The space between the living animal and the illustration in a zoological work is inhabited by dozens of different people, materials, movements, and sensations. Other factors also intervene, for instance, the idea of 'accuracy' and the attitude of the artisan to his/her employer, the limitations of bookbinding techniques and the requirements of the editor, publisher, and bookseller. While this thesis takes account of

many of these mediations, there are always other *extratextual* elements in the background of the pictures that there has been neither time to retrieve, nor space to discuss.

Image and Text

Every image in a natural history or zoological work is accompanied by words. Titles, captions, labels, classification and rhetorical descriptions directly control the interpretation of an image. The entry for an animal in a zoological or natural history work combines image and words in a particularly obvious way – pictures occupy the same material space as words and superficially, at least, they share the importance usually reserved for language. Labels that name the representation, inside or outside the picture's frame, have a particularly incisive relation to an image and in the case of the thylacine often establish intertextual links with other animals in other places. They also have an historical relation to the images: tracking names over a period of time clarifies particular constructions of the thylacine and make the viewer aware of how radically naming can affect the perception of images. Maclachlan and Reid comment on the series of "embedded circumtextual frames" that surround any visual image and note how easily they become naturalised so that the mediated nature of what is observed is forgotten (34). Ostensibly, the image in a natural history book relates to a descriptive text in what seems like a particular kind of image-text relation that Mitchell describes as a straightforward, discursive, "suturing" of the verbal and visual where texts "explain, narrate, label, speak for (or to) the images and images illustrate, exemplify, clarify, ground and document the text" (*Picture Theory* 94). Bernard Smith categorises animal illustrations in a similar way, commenting that the verbal and visual were designed to be mutually supportive. But I found that in some works the text is merely a commentary on the image, while in others the picture is dominated by the text and figuratively illustrates the significations of the text. In addition, as Foucault points out, "verbal signs and visual representations are never given at once. An order always hierarchises them, running from the figure to discourse or from discourse to the figure" (Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe* 32-3). When I analysed some of the illustrations discussed in this thesis it was apparent that the relations between image and text were unstable, shifting, "breaking both pictorial and discursive frames" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 83) and that even the perception of how image and text work together may be dependent on the position of the reader, or the time or focus of the reading. In my analysis I privilege image over text, but note how the text can interpret, rationalise, contradict or load the image;[23] occasionally I allow an image to elucidate the text;

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[23] Barthes talks of 'loading' in relation to a text that burdens a photographic image with "culture, a moral, an imagination" (*Image-Music-Text* 26). In my analyses of the images in natural history works I often allow both text and intertext to 'load' the image with cultural connotations that relate to the extinction of the thylacine.

or I blend visual and verbal codes together in my reading; frequently I find that image and text can refer to each other, at other times they exhibit considerable slippage, or are physically separated and ideationally disjunctive. I sometimes find, as Barthes discovers in photo texts, that "the text produces (invents) an entirely new signified which is retroactively projected into the image, so much so as to appear denoted there" (*Image-Music-Text* 27). A detailed comparison of image and text has not been a significant analytical procedure because my reading is focused primarily on the relation of the image to extinction. Rather, I concentrate on the *relations* of image and text within the imagetext and how together they might affect perceptions of the thylacine in that regard.

As I have mentioned in other sections of this chapter, within the images and surrounding them there are also subtexts connected to the institutions, discourses and histories of the nineteenth century, and they are there most indelibly when, as Mitchell points out, "they are most completely absent, invisible and inaudible" (*Picture Theory* 98). They are inherent in the intertextual relations between the image and current zoological assumptions; myths and stories about animals; the arrangement of the various parts of the book and its printed typeface and ornate bookbinding. Taking these factors into account, assessing responses to the nineteenth and early twentieth century image/text from a twenty-first century position may seem problematic; indeed, Robert Darnton points out "reading remains the most difficult stage to study in the circuit followed by books" and contends that "reading remains mysterious", but concedes "texts shape the response of readers, however active they may be" (74-9).[24] When the images are isolated from their original text or source in space and time and combine in different ways with new texts, other material supports, alternative discourses and transformed temporal locations, the meanings they generate become even more unstable, transformative and dynamic and the way readers assimilate them more difficult to assess. The wider temporal understands that the image/texts in nineteenth-century natural history works generate are therefore not reducible to some simple, cause and effect synopsis between image and extinction. What is suggested in this thesis are *parallels* between the ideas projected in nineteenth century images of the thylacine and the idea and process of the animal's extinction. My analyses will show that, far from being objective representations, the majority of the figures are value-laden and encapsulate a particular version of visual 'reality'. Furthermore, the predominance of this kind of representation in Tasmania before 1936 suggests that the illustrations worked with other factors to encourage the thylacine's extinction.

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[24] Darnton suggests some questions that can be asked about the matter: "how do readers make sense of the signs on the printed page? What are the social effects of that experience? And how is it varied?". And he notes that reading itself has changed over time, arguing that early modern Europe readers "wrung significance from books; they did not merely decipher them" (78-9).

The Image Reframed

Maclachlan and Reid state that "any act of framing may be reframed in turn to suggest a different interpretation" (5). The images I analyse in this thesis are reframed in relation to the imperatives of an academic exercise – the aims and objectives of the thesis, the methodologies of cultural studies and visual analysis, and the structural contingencies of time and production – and this act of framing gives a particular 'shape' to the images it encloses (MacLachlan and Reid 6). The illustrations are viewed through frames of my making that expose, contest and interrogate previous constructions and readings. But this frame is only one of many in which the images have appeared since they were published in natural history and zoological works and the conclusions I reach are only some of the many meanings they have generated as a result.

For instance, a number of images have been separated from their original site and so there is often a sense in which they "frame themselves" and interpretation becomes "uncontrollable" (MacLachlan and Reid 9). This disconnection is apparent where I find a number of thylacine plates missing from the works in libraries in Tasmania – the removal of the pages acting as a trope for the absence of the species in the landscape. Some pages turn up reframed in institutions such as art galleries and libraries, while other pages circulate in antiquarian bookshops in different states and countries, with booksellers attributing erroneous labels and citations to them – their separation from the work making the identification of their original sources difficult and confusing. Many times during or after the nineteenth century reproductions and copies of these images have circulated with different material and discursive framings with a resulting deficit, or sometimes surplus, of meaning. For example, they can be found in books about zoological illustrations, nineteenth century engravings, or the thylacine; framed in public museums, art galleries or private homes; and reprinted on postcards, pamphlets and scanned onto Internet sites where they gather bizarre associations with hunting and a contemporary cult of collecting. Other uses of the illustrations have resulted in reshaping, recolouring and adding stripes to the form of the thylacine; these refigured images appear in commercial spaces where they adorn advertisements, emblems, beer labels, buses, tourism campaigns and souvenirs of Tasmania.

Many images discussed in this thesis, then, are what Derrida calls "orphaned texts" (*Margins of Philosophy* 316). They have another life outside their original site, operating as a "virtual, detachable, and mobile gestalt" (Mitchell, "What Do Pictures Want?" 217) of the thylacine. In all these new temporal and spatial sites different viewers have been interpellated, but often the old associations and assumptions echo in the strange forms and ominous signifiers the images still contain, in their predominantly male collectors, or in vestiges of former material

frames that cling to the images – a yellowed page containing outdated words, antique type or a superseded classification. The object of the readings that follow is to identify the power relations that operated in visual images of the thylacine in their original framing and to suggest an alternative reading informed by the thylacine's now certain extinction and with concern for the future of other endangered species.

FIGURE 1

THE ABJECT THYLACINE 1808 –1855

Writers and explorers had suggested ideas about the landscape, human inhabitants and animals of unknown lands long before Europeans sighted Tasmania. Paul Arthur discusses the construction of the Antipodes as a "hell on earth" inhabited by "mythical monsters and terrifying semi-human creatures": a conceptual as well as geographical space that helped to consolidate the idea of countries in the southern hemisphere as the antithesis of Europe, its 'other' side (39-45).[25] The first image of the thylacine presented to the European scientific community – an engraving of the 'type specimen' or individual that acts as a model for the species as a whole – is an animal perceived through a veil of expectation and awe. Rather than being a clinically 'objective' representation, the first published impression of the species is a collection of narratives and discourses and George Harris, the surveyor who recorded his discovery, reveals an ambivalent response to the trapped animal he attempts to *de*-scribe.

Harris was one of a number of British government employees in the colonies who were expected, encouraged, or simply grasped the opportunity to record or send back images of 'nondescript' animals and birds in the hope of forging a new career. But rather than sending his specimen to Europe, Harris sketched and classified the thylacine himself, although he did not have the formal training in drawing or science of many of the artists who accompanied voyages of exploration. His seminal observations of the thylacine sent to Sir Joseph Banks, "tested the classificatory notions" that were in place – as had descriptions of the echidna and platypus. Jacob Gruber notes that in these very early years of the nineteenth century, the formal Linnean order and the functional categories of John Ray transcended geographical and morphological distinctions and discontinuities (12). Harris's actions in naming the species and sending his drawing to Banks exemplifies the increasing number of lay collectors for whom discovering 'new' species was the ultimate goal, and the temporary acceptance of his classification and continuing citation as the first to describe the species, testifies to his success (Gruber 2, 11).

Illustrations of the thylacine in zoological works over the following decades were made without access to a living animal. Other artists and artisans amplified aspects of the engraving after Harris, some invented new positions and features for the animal, but on the

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[25] Another of these constructions is what Edward Said calls 'Orientalism' (197). See the discussion of John Gould's works at the beginning of Figure 3 for the way this idea is directly expressed in an image of the thylacine.

whole and relative to many of the images in subsequent Figures, all the images in Figure 1 tend to project the idea of a passive or restrained creature. Ultimately, they anticipate the fateful associations of the thylacine, European culture and the processes of science and representation.

The First European Illustration of the Thylacine

The first published image of a thylacine, engraved from a drawing by George Prideaux Harris, the Deputy Surveyor-General of New South Wales,[26] appeared with his descriptive notes about the animal in the prestigious *Transactions of the Linnean Society* in 1808 **(fig. 1)**. The drawing of the thylacine and a Tasmanian devil that Harris sent to London two years earlier was accompanied by a letter to Sir Joseph Banks that speaks of "descriptions from the life" of the two species, which he believed were "in every respect new" (Hamilton-Arnold 89). Harris classified the two animals in the same genus as opossums, naming the thylacine *Didelphis cynocephala* (dog-headed opossum) and the Tasmanian devil *Didelphis ursina* (bear opossum). Tim Bonyhady contends that the designation of scientific names for 'new' animals was consistently left to scientists in Europe during this period (*The Skottowe Manuscript* 29). This assertion implies that Harris's offering and the initial acceptance of the classification by scientists was unusual, however, Harris was considered by his contemporaries to be the most "intellectual" member of Governor Collins' staff and had a liberal education, which may explain both his action and its temporary acceptance (Kerr 348; Rienitis 204, 209; Hamilton-Arnold 11).[27] In his written notes about the species Harris includes a detailed delineation of the animal's body, the results of a dissection, and comments on the appearance and habitat of the animal in the manner of a formal scientific report. But he also explains that the animal from which the drawing and description were taken was a male "caught in a trap baited with kangaroo flesh" and notes that it "remained alive but a few hours, having received some internal hurt in securing it" (Harris 174-8).[28]

Zoologists have largely disregarded the engraving in the *Transactions* because they consider it 'inaccurate'. For instance, Guiler writes, "nothing in this [image] reflects reality" (Guiler and Godard 13), but some elements in the engraving suggest the 'reality' that Harris reports he saw when observing the injured thylacine in the trap. Cäsar Claude's assessment of the image draws attention to the head of the animal, which he considers is too big, and the rump that is too slender. He contends that it resembles a hyena and adds that "the picture Harris

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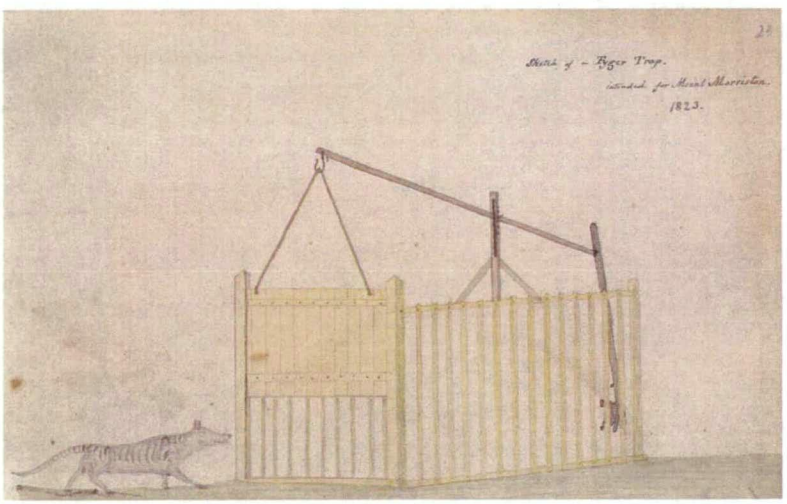
[26] The island of Van Diemen's Land, called Tasmania from the middle of the nineteenth century, was initially an outpost of the colony of New South Wales and administered from there until 1825.
[27] Subsequent classifications of the thylacine will be discussed in transformations.
[28] In his description of the Tasmanian devil Harris notes that a live specimen was to be sent to Joseph Banks, but died before the vessel left New South Wales.

designs here gives a correct impression of how the early settlers in Tasmania perceived the Thylacine" (49, trans. Dagmar Nordberg). Temminck (1824) and Renshaw (1905) comment that the specimen described by Harris was immature or small; this could account for the relatively large head and slender rump. It is also possible that the drawing Harris made, which now seems lost, was changed slightly in the engraving process, as the text and engraving in the *Transactions* do not match exactly.[29] Apart from the description that accompanied the drawing, which is in the Linnean Society Archives and quoted verbatim in the journal, there appears to have been little for the engraver to go by. Some drawings made in colonial sites, for instance that of the echidna, included not only the circumstances of their 'discovery' but also what Gruber describes as information that is so precise in visual details that it seems directed to the engraver (3). It is precisely because the image is not exactly as Harris described, and because of its position as the only zoological illustration of the thylacine that was made from a drawing of a living specimen more or less in the wild, that the engraving in the Linnean Society journal deserves sustained attention.

Harris's response to the animal and the circumstances in which his drawing were made are clearly discernible in the text. Judging by his comment that the trap was baited with kangaroo flesh, it was probably similar to the "tyger trap" pictured by another surveyor of Van Diemen's Land, Thomas Scott, in 1822.[30] Scott's drawing shows a wooden cage with a



Illus. 4 *Tyger Trap*, Thomas Scott 1822.

suspended door that dropped in reaction to pressure on the bait attached to a central pivot inside the cage. "As the bottom [of the pivot] is pulled forward the top moves backward

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[29] A subsequent illustration in a German children's book (fig. 1 (ii)), discussed later in this chapter, corrects the most obvious discrepancy.

[30] Thomas Scott was appointed Assistant Surveyor of the colony in 1821 and made the trap for use on a property he owned called 'Mount Morriston' near Ross, a town in the Midlands district of Tasmania. In the course of his duties, Scott explored many uninhabited parts of the island where thylacines eventually retreated, and the north-west near the extensive holdings of the Van Diemen's Land Company (Crawford 4-7).

disengaging the 'ridge pole' which sat in a notch on the 'bait stick'. Thus dislodged the gate is released" (Simon Cubit pers. comm. 2004).

The "internal hurt in securing it" may have been caused by the gate falling on the thylacine, or efforts to get the animal out of the cage. This type of trap was generally used when the capture of live animals was desired and is the only type to use bait as an inducement, "exploit[ing] the natural curiosity of many animals" (Bateman 12). The gate in Scott's picture looks heavy; it could be conjectured that it fell with some force on the animal's hindquarters as it attempted to back out of the cage with the bait in its mouth. This may account for the seated position of the figure in Harris's drawing – its spine may have been damaged and it could not move. In my assessment of this imagetext I have accepted Harris's statement that his drawing was made "from life", that is, in the "few hours" that the thylacine lived after capture, perhaps still confined in the trap. On the other hand, "from life" may merely mean from an intact animal rather than a specimen, that is, it may describe a drawing made of a recently dead animal. In this case, perhaps the body was delivered to Hobart and then sketched and dissected by Harris, while aspects of the text relating to the animal's behaviour were based on the report of the trapper.[31]

Either scenario renders the position of Harris's figure and many other aspects of his drawing and description puzzling. For instance, he describes the animal as "stupid and inactive", as it would appear if badly injured, and particularly remarks on the action of the "nicitant membrane" [sic]. The effect of the injury and/or the confined space of the trap is, indeed, discernible in the awkward, hunched posture of the figure in the engraving. The muscled shoulders and neck seem to hint at the extent to which the animal may have struggled before it was observed to be "inactive" and the foreshortened body and large head suggests that Harris's gaze may have been determined by the dimensions and location of the cage. Evidence of a closer examination of the thylacine's body *after* death, as suggested in Harris's claim of a dissection, is displayed in the detail of the body parts and the way the skin moulds over the animal's bones in the engraving. The image of the Tasmanian devil immediately above the thylacine in the *Transactions* intensifies the inactivity of the latter. The devil is fiercely and solidly active: its tail holds tension and its stance is defiant, with teeth and claws exposed. The claws on all feet are long, curled and highly visible, every hair is bristled and the majority of lines in the engraving have a buoyant upward tilt. The most vulnerable tissue – at the outer edges of the mouth – is set in a clean curve, while the thylacine's mouth ends in a delicate uncertain line suggesting soft, loose flesh. The figure of the Tasmanian devil is

[31] Guiler and Godard go further, suggesting that the drawing was made from the skin of an animal "after it was killed by a hunter", but this does not take into account Harris's detailed description of its behaviour (13).

aggressive, repels domination and looks like a survivor, while the thylacine has a flaccid, brooding, vulnerable quality. The placement of the devil *above* the thylacine on the page gives the devil a superior position and emphasizes the attitudinal difference between the figures, even though the image of the thylacine is larger. This positioning also supports the case that the drawing Harris sent to Banks relates explicitly to an individual thylacine's situation and appearance in the hours before and after it died.

The wood engraving in *Transactions* is the only illustration in a zoological or natural history work that is derived from a drawing made of the thylacine in Tasmania and, because of the way it represents the animal, it is the only image in which the thylacine's situation and original habitat is tangible. In this regard Harris follows in the tradition of artists, such as Lesueur and Bauer, who accompanied voyages of exploration and captured animals on paper for scientific classification and study. Lesueur's images often show species in a particular habitat, or in the circumstances in which they were found, or actively engaged in foraging or eating (Thomas, *The Encounter* 29). Like the animals in these drawings, that could be aligned with what Kemp calls "the cult of the overtly natural" and "nature in the raw" in botanical and landscape illustration in the late eighteenth century ("Implanted in Our Natures" 213), the seated thylacine in *Transactions* does not conform with most figures in published illustrations at the turn of the nineteenth century, which were often based on taxidermy specimens. For instance, it differs significantly from those in two standard works, Shaw's *General Zoology* and Buffon's *Natural History of the Globe, and of Man*, that adhere to what Cuvier required of his illustrators in 1820 – a picture that "avoided foreshortening that distorts the actual form" and show a standardization and detachment from 'fine art' (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 82-3). This conventional pose was usually a standing profile position, to effectively show the entire physiognomy of an animal for identification or classification. The unusual position of the thylacine indicates that the drawing came directly from a colonial site; however, the lack of background with only a faint shadow of the animal's body giving the illusion that it occupies space, seen also in Bauer's drawings, is typical of more conventional illustrations. Leppert maintains that this lack of spatial depth was associated with the "laying-out" or tabular character of science .[32] Depth is, however, suggested by the lines in both drawing and engraving that suggest the ground on which the figure of the thylacine sits, crosshatched underneath to evoke a chunk of earth.[33] When read

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[32] John Lewin, a natural history artist painting and drawing in Australia at the same time and not constrained by zoological conventions, provided a background of mountains, trees and clouds for his painting of the thylacine. A reproduction of this watercolour appears in Guiler and Godard 90-1.

[33] The cross-hatching in the foreground of the print in the Linnean Society *Transactions* indicates that it is from a wood engraving. The simulation of fur and muscle shows the skill of the engraver who accomplished with a relief process a similar result to stipple work, usually only achieved using metal plates (Rod Ewins pers. comm. 2003).

in conjunction with Harris's description, the 'ground' assumes the shape of a piece of land removed and transported, like many dead specimens, for investigation by a European scientific institution. In his drawing of the 'specimen' he has discovered, Harris also "lays out" for inspection his skills in illustrating animals, with the position and attitude of the figure showing his close observation of the particular thylacine caught in a trap.

The two engravings in the Linnean Society's journal only bear the inscription "G.P Harris delt"; the engraver's name is not given. Framed as it is by expectations of objectivity and the authority of the *Transactions,* the idea of the 'type specimen' would have informed readings of the illustration, so that the circumstances of the animal's physical capture may have been lost in the eagerness to examine the unfamiliar form and to define the species' place in a predetermined order of beings. As the specimen itself does not appear to have been sent to England, the engraving became what Cuvier refers to as "substitute for its subject" (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 83).[34] Research by Barbara Hamilton-Arnold has revealed that Harris was a lawyer with no training as a surveyor or an artist,[35] but it is evident from his letters that he had an abiding interest in natural history and sketching the animals and birds he saw in Van Diemen's Land. His drawing and description of a thylacine has the flavour of ambition and opportunism, evident in the letter addressed to Sir Joseph Banks that accompanies it, where he mentions a work he is preparing on the zoology of Van Diemen's Land and offers his assistance in identifying any "particular curiosities" (Hamilton-Arnold 89).[36] Janet Browne outlines the way in which colonial officials sometimes classified and described material themselves and petitioned the government for grants to produce illustrated publications. She comments that many such officials were recognized as 'experts' in a particular field on their return to England and from Harris's letters it seems as if he aspired to such an outcome (310-11). Drawings of two 'new' animals from Van Diemen's Land would have been particularly interesting to scientists in England and interpretation of the figure in the Linnean Society journal is guided and affected by cues in the text that accompanies it.

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[34] It has been suggested that a specimen acquired by the Linnean Society from Bullock's Museum in 1819 (and later sold again) was the same animal described by Harris (Renshaw, "Journal Preservation Society" 221-2), but Harris makes no mention of sending the specimen to England, although he sent stuffed birds to a dealer in Exeter and attempted to send a live Tasmanian devil to Banks. Returning ships were unreliable, the colony was in the grip of a serious shortage of supplies at the time the thylacine was caught, and there is no mention of its existence in shipping or collection records. It therefore seems unlikely that the Linnean Society specimen was also the one Harris described. It is curious that, given the existence of the Linnean Society specimen in Britain, it was not used as a model for illustrations in British zoological works between 1819 and 1833, when it appears the British Museum acquired another specimen (see Lear's drawing in transformations).

[35] Harris left a law practice in Exeter to take up the post of surveyor in New South Wales, but Hamilton-Arnold comments that a copy of a 1586 plan executed by Harris and published in *Gentleman's Magazine* May, 1799 "demonstrates a neat and methodical turn of mind and possibly some training in draughtsmanship" (7-16).

[36] Hamilton-Arnold notes that "as a young man with ambitions for himself and his family, [Harris] was trying to advance his career and financial circumstances in the colony, and to promote patronage back home through his natural history interests" (3).

The uncertainty and vulnerability generated by this image of the thylacine is exacerbated by its descriptive text as it moves between enunciative modes; from the recitation of body measurements at the beginning of the entry, to the paragraph near the end of the description when an indication of Harris's feelings toward the animal he is discussing seem to intrude into the entry.[37] In a short unpunctuated sentence Harris writes of the "internal hurt" that is the result of the thylacine's capture. Immediately after this he comments: "from time to time [the thylacine] uttered a short guttural cry, and appeared exceedingly inactive and stupid; having, like the owl, an almost continual motion with the nictitant [sic] membrane of the eye." The tone and placement of this sentence suggests that Harris tried to repress any feelings of sympathy implied by his previous comment about an "internal hurt", by resuming the rhetoric of 'objective' observation. His use of "internal hurt" and "but a few hours" betrays a fleeting tone of distress. The immaturity of the 'specimen' may help explain both the animal's behaviour and Harris's concern. Hamilton-Arnold calls Harris, in his early thirties when in Hobart Town, "a high-principled Quaker" whose objections to the flogging of a convict woman by acting Lieutenant–Governor Edward Lord threatened his position as surveyor, magistrate and commissary and had "disastrous consequences" for his family in Van Diemen's Land (106). If Harris was prepared to sacrifice his position to protest about the treatment of a convict woman, he may also have been sensitive to the capture, injury, and death of a young thylacine.[38]

A mixture of scientific and popular rhetoric is also a consistent feature of nineteenth century natural history works and the text that describes the thylacine shifts perspectives and oscillates between these discourses from the beginning of the entry. The passage begins in detached, scientific style with a detailed account of the thylacine's body and continues with

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[37] The movement between styles is similar to that remarked on by Ross Gibson in his essay on Thomas Watling's *Letters from an Exile at Botany Bay*. Gibson perceives in Watling's text an "alternating current" between expressionist subjectivity on the one hand and scientific objectivity on the other. He also sees the results of this ambivalence in the work of artists around the turn of the nineteenth century. See transformations for a discussion of the manifestation in zoological drawings of what Gibson terms an "epistemological crisis" in Europe ("This Prison" 27).

[38] Jeremy Bentham and John Lawrence had articulated concern about cruelty towards animals in Britain in the late eighteenth century according to Thomas (*Man and the Natural World* 176) and Nash (*The Rights of Nature* 4-5). Harris may have brought a similar attitude to animals to the colonies. In a letter to his mother cited in (Hamilton-Arnold 73) he mentions that large kangaroos resisted the dogs so desperately when hunted that they often killed or "wound[ed] them sadly". Although he was referring to domestic animals rather than native ones, Harris's concern is unusual for a male in the colony at this time. One of the few expressions of a similar attitude is in the journal of fellow Quaker, James Backhouse, who travelled in Van Diemen's Land in 1832. Backhouse reveals that he "had to expostulate with the soldiers against a cruel practice" that involved running a stick through the breathing apparatus of fish that took bait intended to attract cod and eels. The reasons given by Backhouse was that the soldiers were "wrong to give way to this spirit", and that it was their duty to either kill the sharks "by the most speedy means," or to liberate them "as they had as much right to take the baits, as the soldiers had to take the fish" (42). Positioning the rights of humans and animals on the same plane was unusual and, if an indication of peculiarly Quaker sentiments, may partly explain the strained tone and some inconsistencies between Harris's visual and verbal description of the thylacine. The Quakers, however, were also involved in establishing industries that violently exploited animals, such as the whaling industry in Nantucket (National Park Service "Historic Nantucket").

the comment that it bears "a near resemblance to the wolf or hyæna", despite the drawing of a thickset animal that looks much more like a bulldog, and at the very end of the entry Harris notes that the thylacine "is *vulgarly* [commonly] called the Zebra Opossum, Zebra Wolf, &c" [my italics]. This slippage between visual and verbal descriptions, then, may be influenced by the pre-texts provided by other colonists. By the 1820s Lieutenant Jeffreys and settler George Evans were also referring to the thylacine as 'hyena' in published works, an association that was particularly significant as the hyena was linked with cowardly behaviour, greed and grave-robbing (Evans, *Description VDL* 56; Jeffreys 108).[39] The rhetorical image of the wolf/hyena is developed as Harris mentions the thylacine's eyes – "large and full, black, with a nictitant membrane, which gives the animal a savage and malicious appearance". This value-laden 'observation' and the dramatic sentence "it inhabits amongst caverns and rocks in the deep and almost impenetrable glens in the neighbourhood of the highest mountainous parts of Van Diemen's Land" sit uneasily with the dispassionate and measured language of the first paragraph, while the language and syntax places the thylacine in a romantic or even gothic landscape.[40] The appeal of these particular sentences is demonstrated by the fact that they were selected and repeated verbatim, or refined and embellished, in many scientific and popular texts into the next century, while other aspects of this first text were ignored. Although the Linnean Society's *Transactions* were devoted to what is now called 'cutting-edge' science, the recruitment of colonial officials, the excitement of a new territory and the popular interest in zoology, resulted in the publication of a text that included blatantly subjective statements such as these and readers that revelled in them.

The representation of the thylacine offered by Harris to nineteenth century European culture, then, was an amalgam of influences and responses, discourses and messages, but the impression that predominates in the text is one for which Europeans had long been prepared, for it filled the space delineated by the fears and imaginings of European explorers as well as colonists. On the way to the new settlement at Risdon Cove, while at anchor in Frederick

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[39] The hyena was also said to have a "glandular pouch" that led to the former belief that it was alternately male and female – a potent reason for mistrust. It was also said to possess "extraordinary strength" in its jaws, another observation frequently made about the thylacine into the twentieth century (Goldsmith, *History of the Earth, 1855* 396, 409).

[40] The thylacine's habitat was believed by R.C. Gunn and other early settlers to be remoter areas of the colony including mountainous regions (Gunn, "Proc. Zoo. Soc. Lond." 103 ; Mudie 175-6; Widowson 170-80), but recent research suggests they mainly frequented lightly forested or 'open' country where their food sources (small to medium–sized native animals) were abundant (Guiler and Godard 84-5; Jones and Stoddart, "J. Zool." 243-4). It is pertinent that in the *History of the Earth and Animated Nature,* the extremely popular natural history work of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the hyena is said to "reside in the caverns of mountains, in the clefts of rocks", words very similar to those used by Harris and others following him to describe the thylacine's habitat (Goldsmith, *History of the Earth, 1855* 397).

Henry Bay waiting for "a fair wind" to take the vessel up the Derwent, Harris had written to his brother:

> if accounts from Port Jackson and some persons who have been here can be credited, a quadruped not quite so pleasant [as the kangaroo] to live in the neighbourhood of, is also an inhabitant of Van Diemen's Land – Traces of a Carnivorous Beast have been found in many parts, like a leopard or panther, but I do not hear that any person belonging to the settlement has seen the animal itself – Labillardiere in his Voyage in search of Perouse in 1792 speaks of being ashore here & being disturbed by the Howlings of a Beast, that came pretty near them – That at another time a quadruped the size of a large dog sprung from some bushes – it was whitish spotted with black – and in the woods they found a large upper jaw and Vertebrae of an animal certainly carnivorous. I suspect however that it may be only a variety of the wild dog, or rather wolf of this Country...(Hamilton-Arnold 59)[41].

Only two thylacines were known to have been caught when Harris sent his drawings to Joseph Banks (Harris 175), so imaginative impressions were able to accumulate – a rare, possibly nocturnal, wolf-like, carnivorous animal, existing in the confined space of an island was waiting to be more closely observed and described.[42] But in Harris's selection of the species' name '*cynocephala*' for the thyalcine, there are connotations with an exceptionally long ancestry relating to undiscovered lands. The Cynocepali, or dog-headed race, were one of the five major Plinian or monstrous races that as long ago as Egyptian times were believed to inhabit the East. There were also heated discussions in the Middle Ages about the existence of the Antipodes and references to human/animal hybrids such as the Martikhora and the Cynocephali were accompanied by illustrations on the well-known thirteenth century Hereford map. Cortez and Columbus looked for the Plinian races in America, while Gesner's *Historia Animalum* and Topsell's popular seventeenth-century zoological work includes references to them and, although Muster's *Cosmographia* – a standard encyclopedia until the eighteenth century – questioned the existence of such beings, they were inserted as illustrations in the text, thereby "favour[ing] belief in what is left open to doubt" (Wittkower 46-74). The website of the medieval cathedral in Exeter, where Harris grew up, shows that images of many of these mythical figures adorn the misericords or tip-up seats in the back row of stalls in the quire (Anon., "Misericords"). In addition, his liberal education would have included perusing some of the works I have mentioned in which the Cynocepali are pictured. Both Wittkower and Friedman comment on how difficult it was to discard the

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[41] Wild dog and New Holland dog were early names for dingos that were referred to by explorer William Dampier as "like hungry wolves" and "as great as a Mastiff-Dog" (London 53).

[42] A thylacine was killed by dogs at Port Dalrymple in the north of the colony, described by Lieutenant Governor Paterson and reported in the *Sydney Gazette* (Paterson 3). The second may have been the specimen listed in *A Companion to Mr. Bullock's Museum* (Anon. 30).

"legacy of classical authority", even when a change to experiment and observation in anthropology and zoology in the seventeenth century seemed to banish these marvels and stories (Wittkower 61), while Egmond and Mason comment on the "ability of images of the monstrous races to leap across textual contexts" (115). As Friedman notes, "the myths of the monstrous races, though geographically obsolete, were too vital to discard. They provided *a ready and familiar way* of looking at ... the New World" (207, my italics).

So, in regard to his 'scientific' naming, as well as his description of the thylacine, there is evidence that Harris may have been influenced by long-held preconceptions that strange or menacing creatures existed in the wilds of Van Diemen's Land. As Roderick Nash comments on American representations: "legends and folktales from first contact to well into the national period linked the New World wilderness with a host of monsters, witches and similar supernatural beings". Nash cites a 1707 text that warned of "the *Evening Wolves*, the rabid and howling *Wolves of the Wilderness* [which] would make ... Havock among you" (Nash, *Wilderness* 29). In his exposé of nineteenth century natural history illustrations, Alec Potts discusses the "evocation of a strange, supposedly savage world" that accompanies European colonisation of remote areas. He believes these pictures were a means by which repressed and irrational "social and psychological forces" could find expression (Potts 20). An indication of how the colony continued to be perceived as a "savage world" is apparent in *The Melbourne Monthly Magazine* in 1855 where 'Cambrian' refers to mythical constructions of the thylacine: "the Native Wolf is an animal which, at one time, was supposed to be found only in the explorer's or rather settler's imagination, but it is now acknowledged that such an animal does really exist" (362). Time did not dispel the stories, but confirmed them. Perhaps it was the older, popular associations of *cynocephala* with strange, misshapen monsters of the New World that explain why, by mid-century, any suggestion that the thylacine resembled a dog – an animal that was more commonly aligned with the 'civilised' world and displayed devotion to humans – was rarely mentioned in natural history works and the comparison disappeared almost completely over the following thirty years.[43] The stereotype of a dangerous, wolf-like animal had by then become firmly entrenched, and too convenient, to be easily displaced.[44]

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[43] Sometimes in scientific texts comparison of the thylacine with a dog or a wolf is strictly on biological grounds, but references to similarities cross into cultural discourse when they appear in popular natural history works – then 'dog' is read as 'man's best friend' and 'wolf' as something to be exterminated. A similar interpretation may occur when the text is exposed to a general reader who is unaware of certain scientific assumptions.

[44] Although reference to a dog is embedded in the species designation '*cynocephalus*', the translation and common name 'dog-headed thylacinus' occurs only fleetingly in natural history texts in the late 1840s, the 1860s and 1880s and the images they contain bear little resemblance to domestic dogs. But in the 1990s, advertising images and artworks often make reference to the dog, both verbally and visually. See Figure 2 for a discussion of common names given to the thylacine that refer to other animals.

Copies of the Image

The first copy of the illustration of the thylacine that appeared in *Transactions of the Linnean Society* was drawn by 'Deseve' and engraved by 'Pierron' and published in a supplement to Desmarest's *Encyclopedia Methodique, Mammologie* circa 1820. This new engraving shows an animal with elongated claws only on the rear feet, but a lengthened neck, bristles on its neck, a back hunched further and head lowered slightly give the figure a vaguely menacing appearance (**fig. 1(i)**). The image is labelled *Dasyurus cynocephale*, in the genus for carnivorous marsupials under which Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire placed the species in 1810, and the image of the thylacine and Tasmanian devil are placed on a page with others in the class in layered environments, rather than being portrayed as isolated, unconnected figures. Sarah Thomas points out that the naturalistic background often included in French natural history illustrations at the turn of the nineteenth century reflected the interests of French scientists in the modification of species by climate and environment ("Beauty and Accuracy" 116).[45] Only the thylacine, however, sits on its haunches and faces away from the others on the page like an outcast; and while the other animals have vital, alert attitudes, teeth showing and wide eyes, the thylacine has a brooding appearance. The reversal of this animal alone, and its attitude, introduces a disturbing element into the picture as a whole. Many figures of the thylacine in natural history works are coded in a similar way for difference or otherness – the position prefigures the persecution and eventual disappearance of the species. The very brief text states that the thylacine lives on the seashore ("*Il se tient dans les rochers, sur le bord de la mer*") and that it preys on echidnas ("*Il est carnassier et chasse les echidnas*") (Demarest 262-3). The misleading reference to marine predation seems to have arisen from confusion between Harris's descriptions of the thylacine and the Tasmanian devil that appeared in the *Transactions*; while Harris does report the remains of an echidna in the stomach of the dissected thylacine, only the latter states that the devil "prey[s] on dead fish, blubber, &c. as their tracks are frequently found on the sands of the sea shore" (92).[46] Paddle shows how the error was continued in Murray's *Encyclopedia of Geography* through successive reprinting from 1834 to 1846 at least, and then, how a trickle of publications up to 1967 persisted in mentioning some form of marine activity for the thylacine, despite its denial by Robert Gunn in *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* in 1838 and in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* 1850 (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 26). The mistake did not favour the

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[45] Differences in approach to zoology and its illustration by French and British practitioners will be discussed in more detail in transformations.

[46] This mistake is particularly apparent in French publications. Thomas notes that marine zoology was a preoccupation of French scientists Péron and Baudin and that over half the specimens collected by the ship *Le Naturaliste* were marine species (*The Encounter* 32).

thylacine in the long term, as will be seen in the way the reference is used in a subsequent French work discussed in this chapter.

An intriguing variation on the engraving in *Transactions* appears in *Bilderbuch für Kinder* by F.J. Bertuch, a lavish children's encyclopedia of animals, plants, flowers, fruit and other aspects of the sciences and arts with a French and German text and 1186 hand-coloured engravings, published in Germany in 237 parts between 1798 and 1830 **(fig 1(ii))**.[47] The illustration of the thylacine appears in volume 10, 1821. It is on a page with other Australian marsupials – several are copies of images by Bauer – and it is interesting for the way in which it differs from the engraving that appears in the *Transactions.* In some respects, the figure corresponds more accurately with the details in Harris's text. For instance, the hind foot does not have the long dark claws that appear in the engraving, indeed, the image in *Bilderbuch* agrees precisely with the text in *Transactions*: "hind feet 4-toed, claws short, covered by tufts of hair extending 1 inch beyond them" (Harris 174). But the most obvious disparity between the *Bilderbuch* illustration and the first engraving is in the delineation of the animal's eye. In the former a nictitating membrane is clearly visible, but in the *Transactions* the animal's eye is outlined with a clean black line, and the nictitate membrane dissolves in the inky black interior of the organ, that is, it emphasises one element of the text – "eyes large and full, black ... which gives the animal a savage and malicious appearance" – over others (Harris 174). The image in the children's book projects a quite different impression: the barely outlined eye and pale shading in the area of the mouth is consistent with the appearance of the soft membranes in an animal that has just suffered shock and the lowered head of the figure gives it a more abject attitude. To me, the suffering of the figure in the picture book sometimes seems palpable; at other times both the figure in the picture book and the scientific journal seem to have an embarrassed demeanour, glancing toward the viewer, but at the same time evading the gaze.

The very brief text opposite the image in *Bilderbuch* notes only that the "dog-headed Dasyure" is a carnivore that "lives in the most mountainous parts of Van Diemen's Land"; it is a lot like a dog, especially around the head; it is close to a marsupial in its internal structure; and it "*looks* very wild and vicious" [my italics] and admits it is very little known "because only two individuals have been taken up until now, which were both males" (Bertuch v10 np, trans. Liz Koolhof). This succinct text, then, reflects the ambivalence in Harris's text: the thylacine is "dog-like" as well as looking "wild and vicious" and the

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[47] *Three Centuries of Children's Books in Europe* describes the engravings in this 24 volume work as "large and exceptionally beautifully coloured", with great decorative beauty. Hurlimann notes that the illustrations are all meticulously hand-coloured (xiii, 134-5). See Framing the Image for a general discussion of this work and its aims.

mystery associated with animals in foreign locations is sustained in the admission that little is known about the species. Other similarities between the imagetext in *Transactions* and this one, for instance, the fact that both figures are facing the same direction (indicating that they were both copied from a figure facing the opposite way) and all other engraved copies are facing to the right (indicating that they were copied from the illustration in *Transactions*) raises the possibility that the German image may also be derived from Harris's original drawing. The preface to Bertuch's work stresses the importance of figures that are "accurately defined", a "true representation of objects", not "composed according to the whim of a draughtsman" and modelled on the "most perfect of its type" (np. trans. Liz Koolhof). Harris's drawing was the only image of the species available in Europe that was made from a live animal and it is not entirely unlikely that his drawing may have made its way to Germany. Research into the classification and illustration of the platypus in Bertuch's work reveals that eminent German naturalist Johan Blumenbach, who also contributed to *Bilderbuch für Kinder*, received a specimen of the platypus from Joseph Banks in 1796 that was probably used as a reference. Wanda Horky makes the observation: "with Blumenbach working in Germany it wouldn't have been difficult for him to give Bertuch in Weimar information about this strange creature" ("Platypus Paradoxes"). As Harris's drawing, originally sent to Banks, is missing from the Linnean Society Archives, it is possible that he also sent Harris's drawing of the thylacine to Blumenbach and that it was eventually used as a model for the illustration in Bertuch's work. Without the original drawing, observations about the origin of certain aspects of the engravings in the *Transactions* and in *Bilderbook* are speculative,[48] but if the German image is a more precise translation of Harris's drawing it would be consistent with findings in relation to other figures I examine – imagetexts in British works generally construct the thylacine as a dangerous creature, while French and German works tend to represent the species more objectively, or in a way that may have promoted sympathy for the animal.

The development of negative constructions in British works can be traced in the texts accompanying two almost identical copies of the engraving from Harris's drawing that appear in *History of the Mammalia* in 1849, the more popular *The Pictorial Museum of Animated Nature* circa 1850, and Charles Knight's *The English Cyclopædia* in 1855 (**fig. 1(iii)**). Like others in this Figure, the first two appearances of this copy stress the thylacine's resemblance to a dog and use the name 'dog-headed' that Harris applied to the thylacine but, then, the identical entries comment that the thylacine is "much rarer than the ursine opossum [Tasmanian devil]" and paraphrase Harris's text stating, "in stature it nearly equals a wolf".

[48] Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this project to search central European Museums for this drawing.

It also is noted that the thylacine's habits are nocturnal and the habitat of the species is then exaggerated thus: "remaining concealed during the day in the caverns and fissures of the rocks, in the deep and almost impenetrable glens among the highest mountains of Van Diemen's Land". With the addition of the word "fissure" and the removal of "in the neighbourhood" from Harris's sentence, the thylacine's habitat is now more precise and secluded, suggestive of hidden sites in inaccessible locations. To emphasise the point, a miniature background of mountains, a palm tree and exotic foliage has been added to Harris's image, the figure has been reversed by the copying process, and the claws on all feet have been extended and sharpened. The thylacine seems to tower over the landscape, as if it dominates the experience of settlers in the colony, even though it was rarely seen.[49] To confirm the idea of a mysterious, savage animal, the text includes the observation that the thylacine is distressed by the light and brings the nictitating membrane of its eyes into "perpetual" use and that it "prowls, hyæna-like, in quest of prey". The story of Harris's thylacine caught in the trap is repeated, but the word "ferocious" is added to "stupid and inactive",[50] and later in the paragraph a crucial and much-repeated statement is made – the thylacine "usually" attacks sheep (*History Mammalia* 160-2). While the Linnean Society journal in which the illustration of the thylacine appears pre-dates the development of significant book collections in the colony and is not included in any libraries in Tasmania today, the *Pictorial Museum of Animated Nature* is in two collections in the state – the Royal Society Library and the collection of colonist Morton Allport in the State Library of Tasmania – so it may have had a considerable influence on attitudes toward the species.

In the following chapters I will demonstrate how the difficulty with the text in these works is not that the thylacine was said to resemble a dog, wolf or hyæna for, as Bernard Smith remarks, the unknown was interpreted in terms of the known (Smith, *Imagining the Pacific* 10). Rather, the problem is that the animals to which the thylacine is compared for most of the century have certain associations in European mythology, that particular elements are *selected* to form a definitive description, and that a distinct tone is produced as these elements interact with each other and with the image. In the next chapter I will show how distinctly negative connotations are embedded in the common names that the species received. Constructions of the thylacine in natural history works in the following years tilt Harris's visual and verbal description this way and that with the addition of a word, a line or

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[49] Meyer Shapiro notes that value and importance is more decisive than the real physical magnitude of the objects represented and that in the art of many cultures the human form is depicted as larger than the environment in which it is located. He also comments that the effect of scale and density is important in the perception of size, as seen below in another reproduction of Fig. 1b (Shapiro 219).

[50] In *The Last Tasmanian Tiger*, Paddle also focuses on the construction of the thylacine as "inactive and stupid" in texts following Harris's initial description which, he agrees, provided a particular context for such an observation – the last few hours of the injured animal's life (209-12).

two or a physical attitude to stress certain associations. In some cases an entry may distort the original image, or place contradictory suggestions side by side and so create a confusing impression. In any case, a pictorial representation generates multiple meanings. To make sense of these entries the reader/viewer privileges some suggestions over others, so that reading images, as well as making them, is a political act. Presumably, early images of the thylacine were interpreted on the basis of preconceived ideas about the New World and the colony, animal stereotypes popular at the time of reading and with the viewer's personal fears and desires also influencing perceptions. Mitchell writes of the "turn" required to face the *other* in the image, which involves directly confronting those "alien and alienated desires, projected into or discovered in objects and representations" ("What Do Pictures Want?" 218). Searching for and recognising the 'other' in representations of animals makes clear the political implications in constructions of particular species.

The development of ideas about the thylacine has also been specifically related to what Jim Davidson calls "Tasmanian gothic", a way of looking at the island that is "as old as Marcus Clarke". He mentions a landscape containing presences, or rather, absences – among them the "gothically named Tasmanian Tiger" (310). Artist Danny Moynihan naturalises the imagery, believing "the mysterious primeval nature of the Tasmanian landscape links perfectly with the tiger" (Bevilacqua 9). Descriptions of the thylacine in nineteenth century scientific texts often include references to wild landscapes, dark forests, wolves, darkness and violence: elements in a well-known gothic metanarrative that always concludes with doom. Amanda Lohrey talks of a tendency in individuals who construct this narrative to "invest nature with their own trauma", but I disagree with her statement that "the spaces of the colonies were without preordained meaning or ideology, so that meaning had to be supplied from within" (90). As suggested above, meanings for the animals found in colonial environments had been developed long before the exploration and settlement of Van Dieman's Land. The thylacine was the repository of justifiable uncertainties and imaginings about the island of Tasmania and as a result was invested with the qualities of a number of European animals that were considered the epitome of evil, appetite and cruelty. The comparison with species familiar to settlers also bears out Michel de Certeau's claim that there is a homology between the structures of European demonology and perceptions of the New World (quoted in Mason 52).[51] Many of the texts and images I discuss in the early chapters of this thesis exploited the anxieties of Europeans about Van Diemen's Land and helped to construct an easily recognisable and assimilated identity for the thylacine that then

[51] This correspondence is exemplified in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* where an attack by wolves on Crusoe's party as they cross the Pyrenees mountains is compared with an attack by a leopard on the western coast of Africa earlier in the novel (292-302). Other examples of Old and New World alignment are mentioned in reference to the wolf in images of the thylacine discussed in Figure 4.

shaped actions toward it and inscribed many pages in the story of the species' demise. These constructions also demonstrate Berger's idea that the nineteenth century was an era when animals began to disappear from everyday life and that their impending doom was manifest in images of animals "*receding* into a wildness that existed only in the imagination" (15).

Textual entries for the thylacine that accompany images derived from Harris's drawing take up the gothic inferences embedded in his description to varying degrees. For instance, the 1855 work *The English Cyclopædia* that uses the copy of the *Transactions* engraving discussed above (fig.1 (iii)), includes a text based on Harris's description with the addition of the sentence "two of these animals are now alive in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London" and quotes the relatively long entry in the Zoo's guidebook.[52] The image is now labelled "Tasmanian Wolf", extending the comparison Harris that makes at the beginning of his text, and the entry states that the thylacine plays the role of the "larger quadrupeds of Africa and Asia", that is, of dominant predator, and it includes the comment "their favourite prey is mutton" (Knight, *English Cyclopaedia* 698). In the three works that reproduce this image, a smaller figure of the devil, surrounded by lush, almost tropical vegetation, also appears. With the change in size and, in this case, a reversal of position in relation to the devil, Harris's image of the thylacine assumes a far more substantial, belligerent appearance than it does in its original publication site, while the devil seems to bristle ineffectively. The transformation or addition of meanings generated by a different location, size and page configuration of an illustration, or the type of work in which it appears, introduces a multiplicity of readings and a difficulty in assigning an unequivocal message to a particular image.

A wood engraving by Basire in an 1829 English translation of the standard zoological work by Cuvier, *The Animal Kingdom*, shows a taller version of Harris's seated image, with round bear-like ears and a smooth dense coat, but the same conventional slice of earth on which the thylacine sits (**fig. 1a**). This figure looks like a large dog and is compared with one in the text and on its label. It is also called "zebra dasyrus", a reference to the zebra (or, more precisely, its stripes) that was once considered "dangerous and imperfect", but then in Buffon's late eighteenth-century zoological work is regarded as "elegant" (Pastoureau 45-6).[53] Cuvier particularly compares the thylacine with the quagga, a zebra with stripes on only part of its body, conceding that the thylacine's stripes are "much more regular" (37).

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[52] A pair of thylacines was sent to the London Zoo by Ronald Gunn in 1850. Thylacines in London Zoo and illustrations associated with them will be discussed in some detail in Figure 3 and 5.

[53] A discussion of the historical and biological significance of the stripe is included in Figure 6.

This comparison is prescient, as the quagga was extinct by the late nineteenth century.[54] The stripes on the thylacine in the engraving in this work are faint and it looks warily over its right shoulder. Despite the teeth visible in the barely-open mouth, as if it is emitting a warning growl, the effect of the image is not at all threatening, reinforcing the comparison with inoffensive species in the text. Paddle considers that this illustration of the thylacine and others of the period depict an "upright, noble animal" (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 210) but only this image engraved by Basire would warrant that description, although it is merely noble in the sense that it *is* upright and conveys some indications of a strong body and the potential to defend it.[55]

The remainder of the text in Cuvier's work, however, dispels any notion of nobility. Cuvier calls the thylacine "a singular looking animal, by no means pretty" and also states that the thylacine inhabits coastal areas, that it eats the "half-corrupted bodies of Seals" and "remains concealed in cavities in rocks, or in hollow trees" on the coast, rather than in fissures in the mountains (36-7). This English translation and elaboration of the lines from Harris's description of the Tasmanian devil encourages attitudes of disgust and repulsion in relation to the thylacine. However, the image/text in this work has ambiguous connotations and creates the impression of an undesirable animal rather than a dangerous one, because the visual image is relatively appealing.[56] Later British texts that mention marine predation do so in combination with less engaging images, so that extremely negative impressions are suggested. In two works emanating from France, then, the thylacine has been strategically re-placed and notions of nobility in the image are undercut by associating the animal with the sea, rather than mountains and with scavenging, rather than hunting. Editions of Cuvier's book were among the most common and widely disseminated zoological works of the period, with three editions in the library of the Royal Society of Tasmania alone, but only the 16-volume 1829 edition includes an engraving of the thylacine and substantial text about the animal. The image of a relatively innocuous, dog-like animal did not appear again in natural history works in English until the extinction of the thylacine was imminent. Meanwhile, the growth of the sheep industry radically affected ideas about and actions toward the species.

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[54] The quagga was once numerous in Southern Africa, but hunting for its skin – marked with stripes on the head, neck and shoulders only – led to its extermination. It is now hoped that a quagga-like animal can be created by selective breeding from zebra with pale or broken stripes (Barnaby 94-8).

[55] If this illustration is compared with others in Cuvier's text it could be said that the prominence of the "dog-faced" or "dog-headed" tag had led to an image such as those made by George Stubbs of domestic animals. Animals in these paintings took on dignified portrait poses, were associated with their owner's position, sometimes with collars inscribed with their owner's name (Potts 15). See also Potts page 18 for his exposé on 'nobility' in reference to Thomas Landseer's illustration, "Lion Killing its Prey", in *Characteristic Sketches of Animals*, 1832.

[56] Some of these imagetexts will be discussed in subsequent Figures.

Animals and European Settlement

Sheep were introduced to Van Diemen's Land at the time of the first settlement in 1803 and by 1819 their numbers had grown to 172,000 (Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 102) a quantity that, together with oxen, Lieutenant Jeffreys felt was "amply sufficient for the supply of the inhabitants". As mentioned above, the thylacine was soon accused of killing sheep, although Jeffreys maintained that only four thylacines had been sighted in 17 years of settlement (101-9) and Paddle identifies only two records of verified thylacine attacks on sheep, both in 1817. One of these came from Lieutenant Edward Lord, George Harris's persecutor (see above), and the other from settler George Evans who later changed his mind (Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 102). Other reasons for the loss of sheep at that time are also apparent. For instance, in his book *An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land, principally designed for the use of emigrants* published in 1824, Edward Curr, who as chief agent for the Van Diemen's Land Pastoral Company later played a key role in the implementation of the first bounty on the thylacine in 1830, says nothing of native animals as predators of sheep but makes much of the problem of *sheep stealing* in the colony. Curr warns prospective emigrants about the perils of farming and the "moral turpitude" of its inhabitants who, ironically, he calls predators – none of whom "will want meat while there is a flock of sheep within a convenient distance". He claims that sheep-stealing on the island is organised into the "most complete system" and advises the new settler to employ shepherds to either bed sheep on the hills at night, or drive them into yards to "prevent plunder of his flock" (35, 70-3). Sheep-stealing was also the major concern of the Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Society formed in 1821 (Branagan 123). Curr's report is also interesting because it includes an appendix in which a letter issued by H.E. Robinson, secretary of the colony in 1821, strongly advises that stockmen be prevented from keeping hunting dogs (153-7).

Dogs had been reported as a problem in the colony in 1819 and 1826 and recognised as a threat to stock when they were no longer needed for assisting in kangaroo hunting. In 1922 surveyor Thomas Scott reported "natives" with dogs in the area of Lake Sorell and wrote "the dogs have killed about 60 devils close to the hut" (quoted in Crawford 5). If packs of dogs killed so many strong and aggressive devils, they would have posed a considerable threat to sheep. While there were efforts to control dogs by sheep farmers and government regulation in the 1830s, they had little effect (Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 121).[57] In 1833 Lieutenant Breton expressed concern about a report that some of the dogs in the colony had become wild, recognising the "difficulty of ... expel[ling] them if once established there" (*Excursions in New South Wales* 410). As James Boyce has noted, in open country (where

[57] See Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* (121-7) for more about feral dogs in relation to the thylacine.

sheep were grazed) dogs killed in vastly greater numbers than thylacines ever could, and not only bushrangers but also Aboriginal inhabitants, who are recorded as having forty to a hundred dogs accompany a group, came to rely on dogs for hunting. Boyce contends that between the late 1820s and 1860s wild dogs were a major concern (Boyce passim). Guiler's analysis of Van Diemen's Land company diaries and records between 1832 and 1849 shows there were significant sheep losses on their holdings from predation by dogs (Guiler, *Thylacine* 96, 109). The association of dogs with sheep killing in the colony makes the comparison of the thylacine with the dog ironic, if not troubling. Paddle also provides evidence of mismanagement and other factors in the sheep industry that resulted in excessive losses at various times during the nineteenth century (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 110-3, 148-167). He maintains that the thylacine provided a convenient scapegoat for these losses and so during the course of the century was visually, discursively and rhetorically constructed as a danger to livestock. Despite few verified reports of sheep killing and twenty-five different warnings of the increasing scarcity or possible extinction of the thylacine by contemporary "scientists and naturalists" between 1820 and 1888 in Tasmania alone (Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 222-3), successive private and government bounties, and trapping for zoos and export, along with changes to habitat, competition for prey and introduced disease, were permitted to take their effect and depleted the species to unsustainable levels.[58]

While the small number of thylacines, estimated by Guiler at between 2000 and 4000 when European settlers inhabited the island, contributed to the species' swift disappearance, the treatment this animal received was not unique. In an early letter to his brother, Harris spoke of the abundance of wildlife in the vicinity of the settlement at Hobart Town. A boat had "run down" 150 black swans and "*fifty thousand*" were reportedly seen in a flock at the head of the Derwent. Harris explains in a letter "it is a great thing for us to have such a Supply of fresh meat, for they are excellent food, as white and good as any goose I ever eat in England" (Hamilton-Arnold 61). While the eggs and meat swans provided was undoubtedly an important food source in the early days of the colony, in 1804 measures were taken by Lietenant-Governor David Collins to restrict the collection of swans' eggs (Bonyhady, *Colonial Earth* 6). However, the practice of eating swans continued as Reverend Robert Knopwood's diary mentions a hundred swans delivered to the convicts in the starving colony for Christmas Dinner 1806, while he dined with the Governor on the first beef killed 'for the officers' (Nicholls 123). Even as late as the 1850s settler Louisa Meredith suggested that the practice of egg collecting and hunting swans had not ceased (*My Home in Tasmania* 134-5). Meanwhile, in 1839, visiting naturalist John Gould remarked on the unnatural absence of the

[58] For a more detailed discussion of these and other matters related to the extinction of the thylacine see Smith (1981), Guiler (1985) and Paddle (2000).

bird from the Derwent where it once abounded (Tree, *The Bird Man* 86) and in the *Handbook to Birds of Australia* comments "in the white man, the Black swan finds an enemy so deadly, that in many parts where it was formerly numerous it has been almost, if not entirely, extirpated". Perhaps one of the reasons for its demise was that, as well as providing meat and eggs, the swans were hunted for the soft down beneath their breast feathers.[59] Gould describes the method of capture, which was to run the flocks down in boats when the birds had shed their primary quill-feathers and were unable to fly (Gould, *Handbook* 348). The production of familiar food – beef and lamb – along with the colony's small population and attempts to protect the birds, may have saved the black swan from extinction, but in other colonies even more prolific birds had been exterminated. In the 1830s American wildlife artist John Audubon, quoted in *The Saturday Magazine*, estimated one flock of passenger pigeons covered 180 square kilometres and wrote that it made a noise "like a hard gale at sea" as it passed overhead. When they alighted in "solid masses" in the trees they were shot, fell with the overloaded branches, or were knocked down by "polemen" (Audubon 14-5). By the 1870s the flocks of this American bird were on the wane and the last known passenger pigeon died in a zoo in 1914 (Flannery, *A Gap in Nature* 124).

As well as black swans, a number of other species in Tasmania were decimated by the impact of European colonisation and are rarely seen in populated areas today. At various times in the first years of settlement Reverend Knopwood recorded whales in the Derwent River opposite his house and "a great many" in the river beyond Hobart Town (Nicholls 83-4, 87-8). He mentions catching crayfish in the vicinity of the settlement (68, 84-5, 84-5, 133), killing emus (42, 48, 57, 72, 165) and other birds such as quails, bronze wing pigeons, and parrots (42). He kept a record, in the manner of Robinson Crusoe, of the kangaroos and emus he killed with the help of his dogs (72, 92-4). Harris called the Derwent "one of the finest rivers I ever beheld", admired the "immense trees" and thousands of flowering shrubs on "Table Mountain" and particularly mentions that the woods abounded with "beautiful Parroquets, Parrots, Pheasant, Partridges, Quails – Eagles, Hawks, Crows, Pigeons and other Birds". Harris remarks "the quantities of Kanguroos [sic], Emus and Wild Ducks we saw and killed were incredible" (Hamilton-Arnold 66). In his account of the colony in 1820, Jeffreys specifically mentions that the Tasmanian emu, with the kangaroo, was voraciously hunted and calls this "sport" a "lavish system of butchering" hoping that measures to prevent "a total extinction of these valuable animals" would be adopted (101). Although kangaroos survived, the Tasmanian emu did not, and even by 1832 Quaker missionary James

[59] Albatrosses were also killed for their feathers, as related by Backhouse who writes that nearly 1000 albatrosses were killed on Albatross Island in 1832. He observed that they were often stunned, plucked and "cruelly left to linger" in this condition (Backhouse 102).

Backhouse considered the species extinct in the area around the towns of Bothwell and Hamilton (30).

Although there may have been moves to prevent cruelty to animals in Britain, attitudes to animals in the colonies usually followed traditional lines. In the popular British journal *Saturday Magazine* in 1836 a section called "The Useful Arts" ran a series of articles on sport that acknowledged the need to "extirpate" dangerous or annoying native animals such as the tiger in India, and gave hints on hunting strategies (Anon., "Animals of the Chase" 112). Closer to Tasmania, the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* in 1867 told the story of an "adventure" in which a gentleman pursued for an hour and a half a "native tiger" [thylacine] that was trotting through a flock of sheep, until he came within "flagellating distance". He then attacked it with the stock-whip until it "fell dead under the blows of its antagonist" ("Encounter" 38). In 1850 Gould, collecting for his book *The Birds of Australia*, found it difficult to obtain details of the nesting habits of the Yellow-eared Black Cockatoo in Tasmania, so Lieutenant Breton sought the assistance of a man in Newtown, near Hobart, who felled a large tree in his garden in which the birds nested. Breton reported that "the tree was broken in pieces by the fall, and the contents of the hole or nest destroyed ... a Hawk kept attacking the Cockatoo, which flew in circles round the tree before it fell, uttering its loudest and most mournful notes" (Gould, *Handbook* 23-4).

Some causes of suffering and reduction in numbers were more subtle and complex. Eastern quolls, called 'native cats', were so numerous on the island that Backhouse mentions 600 skins being "brought in" even before their destruction was encouraged in order to preserve the introduced pheasant (188). In the 1920s the quolls became increasingly rare as the result of a disease that reduced the numbers of many other Tasmanian dasyurids (Green 8). This or a similar disease is also thought to have affected the Tasmanian devil and the remaining population of thylacines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Paddle believes that this disease probably arrived by way of introduced species and so is related to European colonisation in a similar way to the clearing of land and changes to food sources and environment (Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 202). While quolls and devils recovered from the ravages of the epidemic, the small thylacine population – further reduced by a government bounty operating at the time – did not (Guiler and Godard 138). As documented by Bonyhady, there is evidence that concerns were voiced about the treatment of certain species, that there was awareness of possible extinctions, and sometimes action was taken to preserve species (*Colonial Earth* passim). However, my in-depth study of images of the thylacine and the way they interact with texts, along with the history of the extinction of the species, demonstrates that authoritative scientific works exerted subtle, consistent, and invasive pressure to exterminate it. Grove has noted that thinking on the matter of

conservation in the nineteenth century was often "contradictory and confused" and action to pass or effectively implement legislation was rarely taken (12).[60] Despite knowledge of its limited numbers and early fears for its survival, no action to preserve this 'native predator' was even suggested until early in the twentieth century and then nothing was implemented until it was far too late.

Summary

The suffering of the thylacine and other species in Tasmania is embodied in the abject animal shown in many of the illustrations discussed in Figure 1. They are a sad visualisation of initial contact between a settler and a native animal that is recounted in many narratives of life in the colonies, and act as a 'historeme' where the vision of an injured thylacine caught in a trap stands for the failure of European culture to preserve the animals encountered in new environments. These images and their texts also embody the fears and uncertainties of colonists, the drama of an experience in a country far away from Europe, long-held preconceptions about the New World, the imagination of engravers and the difficulty of achieving 'objectivity'. The illustrations of the thylacine discussed in this chapter also demonstrate that engravers and editors were indeed selective in their use of empirical material, often show little regard for accuracy or detail, and that British images tended to distort the form of the animal. Factors such as these continued to influence visualisations of the thylacine from both Britain and other countries throughout the nineteenth century, just as they affected eighteenth and nineteenth century representations of Aboriginal people. For instance, in regard to the Tasmanian Aborigines, Rhys Jones maintains that Peron followed Cuvier's ideas of biological typology and the concept of fixity of species and that these ideas predicated the organization and presentation of artwork depicting them and may also have had "a subtle influence on the way the way the engravers transposed the images of the original field drawings to the final engraving" ("Baudin in Australian Waters" 64).

While the image of an abject thylacine in *Transactions of the Linnean Society*, the *Bilderbuch* and some of the other copies that followed may have enabled concern about the species, soon aspects of Harris's description that hinted at mystery, inferiority and threat were reinforced, then new ones were added, until by the end of the century many images bore little resemblance to the living thylacines that were regularly arriving at some European zoos. The following Figures demonstrate how, motivated by economic concerns, centuries of superstition and mythology were projected onto images of the thylacine and how the first

[60] See also Bonyhady in which it is suggested that "the environmental aesthetic is as deeply embedded in the culture as is resistance to putting environmental ideals into practice" (*Colonial Earth* 11).

imagetext in a natural history work was transformed and developed into a construction of an animal worthy of extermination. Some artists used museum specimens as their models, others copied existing images; many suggestively manipulated the figures they re-produced, indulged their particular fancies, or bowed to the desires of publishers and editors: these images effectively 'figure' the thylacine's demise.

In the next chapter, I discuss the transformation of the thylacine in French, Swiss and British works, including several popular examples. Illustrations in these works exemplify how artists far away from Tasmania wrestled with the shape and concepts implied by Harris's classification and the contradictions generated by his description. Under the influence of Cuvier, who highlighted the importance of anatomical features, French zoologists also revised the original classification of the thylacine, as was also the case with other marsupials.

transformations 1820-1846

Images of the thylacine that appear in zoological and natural history works produced in Britain and continental Europe between 1820 and 1850 show how perceptions of the animal altered as specimens and ideas slowly flowed back and forth between the colony of Van Diemen's Land and Europe. Some illustrations show artists and writers attempting to reconcile Harris's classification of the thylacine in the family *Didelphidae* with illustrations and descriptions of the animal that appeared subsequently. Images were also influenced by factors such as the lack of access to a live animal, the form of a specimen, and the scientific and economic interests of the country in which they were produced.

The figures in the French illustrations, and possibly the Swiss and German ones that frame the chapter, show a common form and attitude that can be traced to a mounted specimen in the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris. They are unique in the history of thylacine illustrations in the nineteenth century, displaying the kind of construction that British and German artists and naturalists generally did *not* adopt. The illustrations that emanated from Britain in this period show an increasingly ferocious, wolf-like animal that is completely different from Harris's image but which begins to visualise the comments made in the texts that accompany copies of the engraving in the *Transactions of the Linnean Society.* Significantly, the first of these illustrations appears in 1833, only a few years after the introduction of the first bounty on the species at the Van Diemen's Land Company holding at Woolnorth in the northwest of Tasmania. The changing form of the thylacine parallels a hardening of attitudes toward the species in the colony. Meanwhile, a drawing of an abject thylacine appears, the only one I have found other than Harris's image that was made in Van Diemen's Land in the nineteenth century. It shows a recently dead animal in a prone position and it occupies the temporal space between French impressions of the thylacine and British ones.

Judging by the holdings in collections today, apart from Cuvier's *Le Règne Animal* in an English translation that is held in the Royal Society of Tasmania library, the works that contain the images discussed in this chapter seem to have been uncommon in Tasmania. There is, however, evidence that *Murray's Encyclopedia* was available, as Meredith mentions it in her book *My Home in Tasmania* (see below), although it is no longer held in public libraries there. The images I discuss indicate movements and adjustments in what was a period of transition before a much more lasting idea of the species emerged from the early confused and tentative notions tendered by Harris. The brief readings I undertake,

then, are designed to trace *transformations* in the form of the thylacine in zoological works between 1820 and 1850, rather than to expose another 'Figure'.

The Images

Claude points out that in the first half of the nineteenth century it was difficult to make an accurate image of the thylacine because a living animal was not available and artists had to rely on "bones and furs" (50-1, trans. Dagmar Nordberg). Images of the thylacine produced in continental Europe during this period that do *not* resemble the engraving in the *Transactions of the Linnean Society* display a similar form and attitude and all are in the formal standing profile position with the legs on one side of the body slightly in front of those on the other, implying that they were produced with reference to a common specimen or influenced by each other. The first of these, a lithograph by J.K. Brodtmann in H.R. Schinz's *Naturgeschichte und Abbildungen der Säugetiere* (The Illustrated Natural History of Mammals), published in Switzerland 1827 and one of four on a page, demonstrates in visual form the confusion that arose from the classification of the thylacine in the family *Didelphidae* (**trans. a**). It is labelled *Thylacinus Harrisii* and "Beutelhund" (marsupial-dog), but resembles the other marsupials on the page – possums and a quoll – rather than a dog. Previous classification as *Didelphis cynocephalus* and reference to the pouch in the common name applied to this image obviously prompted its possum-like form. Like many of the continental illustrations discussed in this chapter, it shows an inoffensive animal, but has slightly shorter legs and a more substantial body than the French images and displays a prowling stance.

A text-only volume of this work by Schinz, published in 1824, has a detailed delineation of the thylacine's physical appearance that includes a comparison with a "Schweifbeutler" (quoll), but remarks on the lack of hair on the end of the thylacine's tail and takes up the idea of swimming and a coastal habitat from French works such as those by Cuvier and Desmarest mentioned in Figure 1 (Schinz 194, trans. Dagmar Nordberg).[61] The description mentions a "very broad head" and gives an extremely detailed account of the fur colour on various parts of the body and the size and configuration of stripes, including that of pouch-young, as if skins were being examined. The evidence for the latter is particularly obvious in the remark that the thylacine has a "long and low stretching body" – the result of the tanning process – while reference to the "dorsal vertebrae" implies a skeleton was also available (Schinz 195). Records do not show specimens in Switzerland at this time, but two "perfectly preserved" mounted specimens and two skulls were in the Natural History Museum in

[61] The text in the plates' volume (1827) consists only of the first part of each entry in the 1824 volume.

Leiden, The Netherlands, in 1827 (Temminck 65; Renshaw, *More Essays* 220) and there is a French specimen in the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle described by staff as "pre-1789" that is only similar in its general shape (Sleightholme CD1, 3). This representation, then, probably derives from European sources and barely references the colony or its concerns; it is an attempt to describe an animal, of which little was actually known or experienced, from a few material remnants of its existence.

French zoologists supply some of the most pleasing and sympathetic visual and verbal descriptions of the thylacine. Younger considers "a distinctly Gallic touch to kangaroo imagery" in his book *Kangaroo Images through the Ages* and maintains that French interest in zoology resulted in a number of illustrated natural history works being produced in the first decades of the century when British natural history was in the doldrums (71-85, 91).[62] Spurred on by a national revival under Bonaparte, the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle was re-established in 1793 and attracted many important names in natural history. It became the leading centre for taxonomic and anatomical studies in Europe and included a large menagerie. Georges Cuvier created the new science of comparative anatomy which "privileged function over form" (Outram 251) and based a new classification system on considerations of this aspect of zoological study. This change in emphasis resulted in the drawing of fossils, skeletons and teeth in many illustrations. Other French naturalists at the Muséum, such as Isidore Geoffroy St.-Hilaire, contributed to one of the great biological debates of the early nineteenth century, which E.R. Russell described as "Is function the mechanical result of form, or is form merely the manifestation of function or activity? What is the essence of life – organisation or activity?" (quoted in Waggoner 2). Geoffroy believed that all vertebrates were modifications of a single form, but Cuvier insisted that similarities between organisms could only result from similar functions. Geoffroy's theories preceded the ideas of Charles Darwin and evolutionary biologists to a degree (Waggoner 2-3) and the way the debate developed is reflected in the way in which the thylacine is figured in zoological works at various stages during the nineteenth century. The relation between evolutionary theories and representations of the thylacine will be discussed in Figure 3.

An image that appears in Réné-Primevere Lesson's *Centurie Zoologique* in 1830 and is used again by Paul Gervais in *Atlas de Zoologie ou Collection de 100 Planches* in 1844 indicates the importance of anatomical study in French zoological circles. It shows a thylacine with upright head, long stripes curled around the abdomen and delicate legs, feet and tail (**trans. b**). This finely built animal exemplifies Lesson's note on the images in his book about

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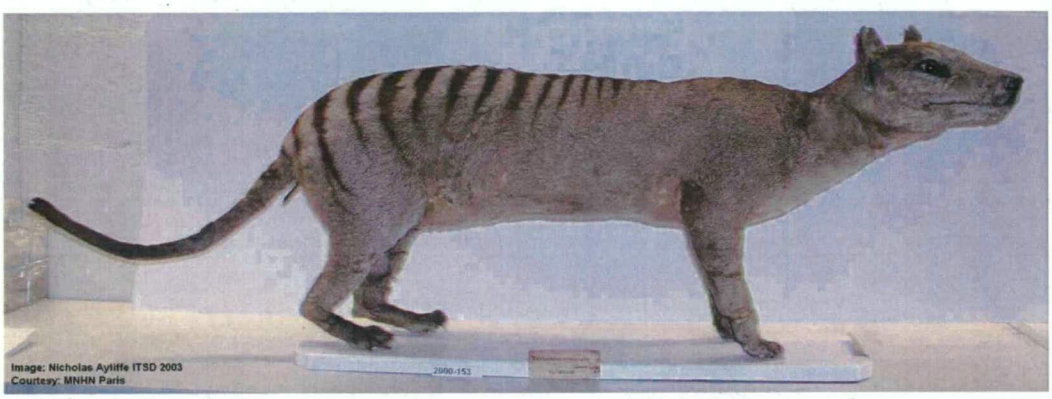
[62] Younger discusses the contribution of French explorers, scientists and artists to the collection and examination of specimens and the development of ideas about the kangaroo and includes general information about some of the French scientists I mention in relation to thylacine images – Buffon, Geoffrey, Cuvier, Lesson and Desmarest.

humming birds: "elegant drawings ... executed with care, full of graceful figures ..." (quoted in Dance 119), however, Dance calls Lesson's bird images "stiff, lifeless, unreal" (119). In the case of the thylacine image, the explanation in Lesson's text that the taxidermy mount in the Muséum in Paris was the model for this figure confirms that the prototype was indeed a "lifeless" animal, however, he considered it a "bel" (Old French for 'beautiful') specimen (14). The existence of this mount explains the common elements in all French images discussed in this chapter and, indeed, the Swiss images – an elongated body, the result of the stretching process required for preserving the skin; the position of the animal, typical of those created by taxidermists; and the curious expression frozen on the face of the figure.



Illus. 5 Thylacine in Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris (Sleightholme MNHN 2000-153).

The legs and tail of all figures are placed in the same position, which also suggests that they may be derived from the same specimen. A comparison of trans. a, b, and g reveals that they have very similar proportions and stripe pattern, implying they were all influenced by the French mounted specimen but also how artists working in an area requiring 'scientific objectivity' could construct quite different representations of the same basic form. A skull and jaw-bone float above the figure in Lesson's book, signifying professional rigour and the anatomical concerns of the era but, in the metanarrative of the species, the macabre associations of bones and skins and the way the skeletal detail contrasts with the solidity of the piece of earth on which the figure stands, suggests the destruction of the species.

The image discussed above was copied in a work by Schinz published in Switzerland in 1840 called *Naturgeschichte und Abbildungen der Menschen und der Säugethiere nach den Neusten Entdeckungen und Vorzuglicksten Originalien* (Natural History and Illustrations of Humans and Mammals according to the Latest Discoveries and Excellent Originals), but this time it appears with a foreground of flowers and grasses and beside a dangerous-looking *Virginische Beutelratte* (Virginian opossum) (**trans. b(i)**). Four other animals on the page

project varying degrees of threat, so that the relatively small, delicate thylacine seems to fade into the background, while the flowers muffle any danger it poses. This adaptation of the image in the works of Lesson and Gervais is a much more accessible and less scientific version, with pictorial elements and the absence of the bones indicating that it was designed to appeal to a popular audience.

An unpublished watercolour and pencil drawing by British artist Edward Lear, dated 1833, held in the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery (**trans. c**) heralds a significant development in natural history images of the thylacine. The drawing may have been one of four sent to William Jardine for the *Felinae* volume of *The Naturalist's Library* [63] where two plates of lions (the Senegal Lion and Barbary Lion, that Lear calls the Emasculated and Persian Lion) were engraved after his drawings and published in 1834 (Jardine plate I & II). An invoice in a letter from Lear to Jardine dated January 1834 lists drawings of the two lions, "A species of cat" and "a Marsupial animal", among those enclosed (Lear 16/1/34). Lear also mentions how he "prefers to make each [drawing] a study from life, for which reason the Emasculated Lion and the Persian are the best" – inferring that the study of the "Marsupial animal" was not made from life. In later letters he mentions drawing animals and birds in the menagerie at Surrey Gardens run by William Cross and those in Lord Stanley and Mr Leadbetter's collection (Lear 19/2/1834, 1/5/1834); but, as the first live thylacines did not arrive in Europe until 1850, Lear had little alternative but to draw the thylacine from other sources.[64] The model he used is not known and his drawing was not published in the *Marsupalia* volume that appeared in 1841, but the image that did appear was based on the mount in the Zoological Society of London Museum and has the same attitude as Lear's image, suggesting that the model was the same and/or that artists who were engaged to do drawings for the work were given specific instructions as to how the animal should appear (see Figure 2).

Lear's drawing shows a thylacine with a fierce face; ears back, yellow eyes and a slightly open mouth with teeth showing. The limbs and body of the figure are heavy, muscular and dog-like and, although it is also in profile, it differs markedly from the others discussed in this section in that the tail is short, all legs are bent and flexed, the head is tense and the figure appears to react to something outside the boundary of the picture. Behind the figure a desolate plain with a solitary eucalypt-like tree supplies an appropriately hostile setting. This image is the first to derive from Britain since the engraving in the *Transactions of the*

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[63] This possibility is suggested by Vivien Noakes in a note on the auction catalogue entry for the drawing issued by Phillips Auctioneers, London in May 2000.

[64] In the preface to *Felinae*, Jardine notes: "we have experienced considerable difficulty in procuring specimens, or good copies, from which to make the drawings for the accompanying illustrations" (85-6).

Linnean Society that is not an obvious copy of another illustration, and the first to so explicitly depict a vicious or threatening animal. It anticipates a transformation in the ideas projected in visual representations of the thylacine and exemplifies a change in zoological illustration and developments in natural history publishing related to mass appeal that will be discussed in the following chapter. Lear, of nonsense rhyme fame, was a well-respected zoological artist who had been commissioned by the Zoological Society of London to draw animals in Regent's Park Zoo for a guidebook and in 1830-32 produced and published a volume of hand-coloured lithographs of parrots drawn from the aviaries at the Zoo. Later, he worked for John Gould and produced bird illustrations for the 13th Earl of Derby at his large menagerie at Knowsley Hall outside Liverpool, where he began composing rhymes to amuse Lord Derby's children. Some of these featured the kangaroo, but the thylacine was never the subject of his comic verse. [65]

Another unpublished drawing holds an important place in the history of thylacine imagery because it is one of few made in the early days of the colony that has survived **(trans. d)**. The drawing is mentioned in a folder of references pertaining to the thylacine in the Gordon Whiteley Papers in the Australian Museum Archives (Series 139). It comes from the journal of George Augustus Robinson, a lay preacher employed by the administrators of Van Diemen's Land to act as 'conciliator' with the Aboriginal people. Robinson decided to find the 300 or so remaining members of the Palawa community, travelling to remote regions of the island and 'bringing them in'. These people were then 'repatriated' to Flinders Island off the north coast of the larger island where many of them soon died.[66] The pencil drawing Robinson made of the thylacine has not been published in N.J.B. Plomley's transcriptions of the diary, or in any other work. It appears following the entry for Thursday, 19th June, 1834 (Robinson CY Reel 1441) and relates to the brief entry for the 18th June in which Robinson writes:

> Jack said he saw the hyaena hunting a kangaroo on the scent like a dog. He ran and speared him in the tail, and the dog caught him by the neck. They brought him home. It was a bitch hyaena. Had it skinned and the skull saved (Plomley, *Friendly Mission* 886-7).

On the 21st June he notes "hazy weather with heavy and incessant rain and hail. Natives hunted this morning, caught several kangaroo" and then writes:

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[65] Lear's sense of humour is apparent in his lithograph of a kangaroo in the *Transactions of the Zoological Society of London* 1835 where he illustrates the dentition of the species by embedding the teeth and jaw into the bank on which the animal stands. The illustration is reproduced in Vevers, page 123.

[66] Several relatively recent books retell the story of Robinson's activities in Van Diemen's Land, for instance, Mudrooroo (Colin Johnson), *Doctor Wooreddy's Prescription for Enduring the Ending of the World* (Melbourne: Hyland Press, 1983) and Vivienne Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson: Protector of Aborigines* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1988).

> The cause of the bad weather is attributed to the circumstances of the carcase of the hyaena being left exposed on the ground and the natives wondered I had not told the white men to have made a little hut to cover the bones, which they do themselves, make a little house (Plomley, *Friendly Mission* 888).

Plomley notes that the comments of Aboriginal people refer to the practice of erecting a tent-like cover of greenery over a body at a cremation site, which is called a 'mannalean' or 'neeninglinim', but does not say if this was also made over the bodies of other animals (Plomley, *Friendly Mission* n101). Similarly, French explorer Baudin writes of a 'tomb' of ashes in which human bones were found and remarks that it was "covered with grass and small pieces of bark which were held in place by two lances, the ends of which were driven into the ground" (Plomley, *Baudin Expedition* 111). If Palawa people buried thylacine remains in the same way as human bodies, it implies some form of respect for the species. The crude pencil image in Robinson's diary, inscribed in a number of different sized notebooks, shows either the carcase or the 'skin' from the body of a female thylacine, curled to look like a sleeping animal. Robinson mentions the 'hyaena' in eighteen entries between 1829 and 1834, most of them in relation to hunting or killing by both white and Aboriginal inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land.[67] Indeed, the thylacine seems to have been killed almost automatically (Plomley 204, 631, 889) although the entry quoted above implies that members of the Aboriginal group travelling with Robinson held some beliefs about the species that inspired respect of some kind. Many of the entries mention female thylacines with young and some refer to wild dogs, for instance, on 11th January 1834 Robinson notes "*Dogs*: ten wild dogs a week killed" and "saw several carcases of sheep that had been killed by hyaenas or wild dogs", supporting the remarks of Curr relating to wild dogs as more of a threat to sheep than thylacines (discussed in Figure 1). Robinson also expresses a desire to catch live animals for 'taming' (Plomley, *Friendly Mission* 527), but more often he acquires the skin of a dead thylacine. The bounty applied by "Mr Curr" on behalf of the Van Diemen's Land Company is also the subject of some entries, with Robinson mentioning that the "New Hollanders" skinned a thylacine "for the purposes of carrying it to Cape Grim to

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[67] The second-hand accounts of Aboriginal life in Robinson's diary, transcribed by Plomley, are filtered through European perspectives and values and are often open to interpretation. Robinson's entry for the 21st of November 1831 records that three cubs were killed by an Aboriginal man called Lacklay "before I saw them" and that "the old one got away". He did not, therefore, actually see Lacklay kill the animals. He reports that Umarrah and his wife, who only "purposed to eat them", carried the carcases of the animals away. So, again, he did not actually see indigenous people eat the animal. Robinson writes that he is surprised at what he understands is their intention to eat a thylacine because thylacines were carnivorous and kangaroos were plentiful in the area. Thylacine bones have not been found near Aboriginal hearths in Tasmania or anywhere in Australia. But as Robinson mentions the desirability of procuring thylacines to tame, it is possible he encouraged his Aboriginal companions to capture animals for their curiosity value, or to kill them and save parts of their anatomy for scientific study. As the traditional lifestyle and habits of the people who travelled with Robinson was already disrupted by contact with Europeans, their behaviour may have been influenced by his attitudes or desires.

get the ten shillings reward from the Company" (Plomley, *Friendly Mission* 645). Robinson's drawing is a reminder of the situation in the colony – the intense interest in the thylacine, its presence in the areas in which Robinson travelled, and significantly, the constant killing of the species by Aboriginal people, white settlers and dogs.

A curious anomaly in thylacine images appears in Murray's *Encyclopaedia of Geography* in 1834, and again in 1839 and 1840 (**trans. e**). Another settler, Louisa Meredith, refers to this image in her book *My Home in Tasmania* published in 1852, as the "*best*" she had seen (Meredith 264). This tiny wood engraving showing a heavy, thickset, dog-like animal (not unlike the figure in Lear's drawing) has a tentative expression and is titled "Dog-faced Opossum", but the text by William Swainson states that the animal "suggests the idea of a union of the dog and the panther".[68] Similar comparisons are made by W.C. Wentworth in 1819 and repeated in 1822 in *Description of Van Diemen's Land* designed for emigrants by Evans, the then Surveyor General. He writes "the native dog ... is unknown here; but there is an animal of the panther tribe in its stead which ...commits dreadful havoc among the flocks". Like several other early writers, there is an admission that these attacks are not frequent (Wentworth quoted in Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 103-4; Evans, *Description of VDL* 56-7). The slightly rounded ears and muscular body of the image is reminiscent of Harris's image, while associations with the dog, opossums and the sea in the text counteract any connotations of threat generated by comparison with a panther. However, this figure stands next to one of the New Holland Dog, as the dingo was called, that has a distinctly wolf-like appearance but a text that identifies it as "the only native *domestic* animal". Swainson says the dingo is fierce and voracious, but adds "all our domestic breeds of cattle, sheep, and horses have long been introduced [to the Australian colonies], and have rapidly multiplied". The verbal construction of the thylacine as "wild" through its connection with a panther, in comparison with the "domestic" dingo that poses no threat to other domestic animals is a crucial element in this text and reinforces earlier representations of the thylacine as a sheep killer (1489). The image/text rupture that occurs in both the description of the thylacine and the dingo suggests that text, rather than image, facilitates the long-term repetition of an idea and, ironically, exemplifies Swainson's introductory observations about Australasian zoology being "inconsistent" and Australasia being "the land of contrarieties" (1486).[69] As this image/text appeared in a geographic work, it also indicates one of the intertextual relations through which ideas about the thylacine were shaped.

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[68] During the years between the rumour of a panther-like creature in Harris' letter and this reference there had also been references to a "wild cat" in popular writing, such as that in (Prinsep 89).

[69] Swainson's work *The Natural History and Classification of Quadrupeds,* 1835 has two biblical quotations opposite the title page: both quotations allude to the resemblance of "Man" to God.

The development of imagetexts in natural history works that explicitly describe a threatening animal and abound with signifiers of violence and danger is demonstrated in a cheap, popular representation from this period. A sepia wood engraving circa 1835 **(trans. f)** believed to be from a work called the *Scripture Natural History and Guide to General Zoology* by Reverend W. I. Bicknell shows a menacing, hairy animal.[70] The caption 'New South Wales Wolf,' probably refers to the years before 1825 when Van Diemen's Land was administered from New South Wales, or to an entry in *Melbourne Monthly Magazine* in 1855 that claimed a thylacine was killed by a shepherd "near the Blue Mountains on the Sydney side" and that he made the skin into a waistcoat ('Cambrian' 360-2).[71] Indeed, the figure resembles images of the wolf that appear in contemporary natural history works, for instance, the Red Wolf on page 62 of Desmarest's 1820 *Encyclopédie Méthodique* that has barred teeth and bristling fur. The narrow, hairy muzzle, long thin body and pointed ears of this figure may also seem to resemble the picture of the thylacine in Lesson's *Centurie Zoologique* discussed above, but the longer hair and solidly placed large feet dispel the delicacy of Lesson's image, while the mountains in the background of the picture predict the evolution of wolf imagery that culminated later in the century and is associated with bounties, death and the thylacines' gradual disappearance from the landscape (see Figure 4).

The image in the *Mammifères* volume of the third edition of Cuvier's "celebrated" *Le Règne Animal*, known as the 'Disciples edition', was published in 1837 (Whitehead 1; Cowan 31-49) **(trans. g)**. An earlier English version of Cuvier's work was discussed in Figure 1 (1a), as it contains a loose copy of Harris's image. The illustration of the thylacine in the third edition is the only picture of a thylacine in the first half of the century to include sexual organs. As the aim of Cuvier's work was to illustrate every genus "by figuring well known or readily accessible species and key structural details" (Roux 33), it may explain the unusual inclusion of the organ. Most of the images I discuss in this thesis have no positive indications of the sex of the animal and do not include the pouch, although some German images later in the century show the penis "projecting behind" as Harris mentioned, while others include the scrotum, although Harris had stated it was "partly concealed in a small cavity or pouch in the abdomen" (Harris 175). While pictures of other marsupials do not *necessarily* include a pouch, the profound absence of this distinctive part of the thylacine's anatomy in zoological images, and often in the texts that accompany them, could be seen as

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[70] The illustration is well known to map and print dealers, but an exhaustive search for the image in the title quoted by many of them as its source proved fruitless. The nearest was an 1850 *Scripture Natural History* in Edinburgh National Library with a similar border on its loose leaf illustrations. Titles such as this usually feature animals from the Bible, with few from the 'New World' included.

[71] There have also been sightings in the Blue Mountains in the twentieth century (Flannery, *Australia's Vanishing Animals* 58).

a denial of the species' fecundity. The omission persisted despite popular accounts of the species mentioning this feature, for example, Mudie refers to the "abdominal pouch" in 1829 (174-6) and in 1839 Martin says "the female carries its young in a pouch" (*History of Austral-Asia* 327). This type of representation is in contrast to entries for the kangaroo, which usually showed figures with an occupied pouch. Illustrations of the koala and Virginian opossum also showed animals with young attached to their bodies, for instance, those in Carpenter's *Zoology* 1848; an 1840 edition of Cuvier's *Animal Kingdom*; and a picture of a Merian opossum on the same page as the thylacine in *The Pictorial Museum* mentioned above.[72]

The drawing of the thylacine in *Le Règne Animal* was made by naturalist Francois Roulin and shows the same delicately built animal as is pictured in the other French work discussed in this chapter, with erect ears, raised head, and large dark eyes that give the image an even more innocent appearance. The lumpy body indicates that the model was a stuffed animal, and a photograph of what is believed to be the earliest specimen in the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris shows that Roulin made a close copy of the mount, including the penis preserved under the tail (Sleightholme CD1, 3). He has only raised the head and straightened the back legs a little, so that there are no signs of cowering in the body. In the sense that this image is so carefully drawn, the figure simply *is* and could be said to want nothing but acknowledgment of its scientific 'accuracy'. However, both the model – a sympathetic construction by a taxidermist – and this illustration of a vulnerable, delicate, inoffensive animal with a questing gaze, seem to appeal for protection. This completely innocuous image and Harris's drawing remain almost unique in zoological representations of the thylacine until early photographs of the animal in zoos appeared in the twentieth century.[73]

A similar drawing, from an unknown source but believed to be by 'Varin' (**trans. h**), shows the same form and position but with tail, body and neck elongated and in absence of the dark eye. Guiler describes it as having an "angelic air" (92-3), but what is more interesting about this picture is the Chinese fan palm and the mis-drawn Australian grass tree that are behind the animal, suggesting its habitat. These exotic motifs operate as a theatrical backdrop, like the Eastern-inspired bandstands, conservatories and palm-houses in Victorian municipal parks and botanical gardens that connoted a "generalised exotic Other, vaguely related to the

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[72] The image of a possum-like animal with babies clinging to her back did not necessarily invoke positive ideas. The 'Su' of Patagonia in Topsell's *Historie of Foure-footed Beastes* published in 1607 has a threatening appearance, was "of a very deformed shape, and monstrous presence, a great ravener and an untameable wild beast", a description similar to thylacine entries in many nineteenth century popular science texts (Dance 31).

[73] Later taxidermy specimens of the thylacine in France and Switzerland were not so sympathetically constructed. Specimens in Lyon (1884) and Neuchatel (1869-75) have snarling mouths and aggressive stances (Sleightholme CD1; pers. comm. 30/8/05).

East" (MacKenzie, *Orientalism* 77). Another French image from an unknown source, perhaps a geographical work circa 1829, explicitly illustrates the colonial context in which ideas about the thylacine were developed – the miniaturised landscape just beneath its tail shows a sailing ship at anchor in a river (Guiler and Godard 88-9).[74] While the ship and lighthouses are invasive objects in an otherwise 'natural' landscape and suggest how the island would be transformed, the relatively large body of the animal implies the overwhelming significance of the unfamiliar environment to its inhabitants. The ship acts as a synecdoche for the European occupation of the island and is part of the imperialist discourse that was woven into both popular and scientific works in the nineteenth century, but this picture also shows how the animals that inhabited the colonies often assumed giant proportions in the minds of the colonisers.

The last image considered in this chapter is reminiscent of the first but appears in a German natural history atlas, *Zonengemalde. Natureschichte und Völkerkunde vollständig in Wort und Bild* , written by Traugott Bromme, who travelled widely in the 1830s and 1840s and subsequently published a series of guide books for intending German immigrants to Australia (**trans i**). This image, then, references impressions of the colony taken back to Europe and then returned. The lithograph of Australasian animals and birds, indigenous people and several trees shows a thylacine with the same prowling stance, long tail and similar stripe pattern as the illustration in the 1827 edition of Schinz, but with a pointed snout. It is possible that this is a copy of the image by Brodtmann, as the placing of the feet and attitude of the head is almost identical. The brief text for the Beutelhund (Marsupial dog) states that it is "the size of a wolf but shorter legged" and that it is a strong predator. A note about what were often considered the human counterparts to the thylacine, the "poor Van Diemen's Landers", declares that they are "walking with gigantic steps toward their own extinction" (Bromme 129, trans. Dagmar Nordberg).

These images demonstrate the movement of ideas, people, books and images as they circulated within Europe, and between Europe and the Van Diemen's Land. Information about the inhabitants of the Van Diemen's Land and other colonies came from a number of sources and *Murray's Encyclopaedia* encapsulates the political context in which knowledge of the new territories was procured, disseminated and digested in the early nineteenth century: "there is now scarcely a shore, however remote, or the interior of a continent however barbarous and difficult of access that has not been surveyed and described". The importance of "recent, authentic and accurate accounts" of the settlements is stressed in

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[74] If this is a depiction of the settlement at Hobart Town, the tiny island in the river would probably be Hunter Island, but what appear to be lighthouses protruding from a headland imply another location, or may simply be an embellishment.

relation to the familial links people in Europe had with the 'New World'. The "utility" of the wood engravings contained in Murray's work, which are stated to be "the most faithful representations" of the objects described, is also emphasised (A4). Animals were an integral part of life in these far away places but the thylacine, like many other 'new' animals, was brought closer to home and under systematic control not only by descriptions, but also by the names applied to species.

Naming and Classification

Many of the images in this section have been given scientific or common names that reference the dog, or opossum, or refer to a new classification '*Thylacinus*' *cynocephalus*, supplied by Coenraad Temminck a Dutch zoologist at Leiden Museum, that was eventually accepted and is still in use today. Sequential scientific labels show how different classifications were suggested, accepted or ignored. The first of these, conferred by Harris, placed the thylacine in the genus *Didelphis* with American opossums; the next put it in *Dasyrus* with marsupial carnivores and was proposed by Geoffroy St Hilaire in 1810, Gray named it *Paracyon* or *Peracyon cynocephalus* in 1825 and finally, a family *Thylacinadae*, referring to its pouch ('thylakos', Greek meaning 'leather pouch') was assigned to the thylacine alone by Temminck in 1824.[75] This latter designation, that is still used today, gave the thylacine a unique status in the animal hierarchy; it implies that the species has few associations or characteristics in common with any animals other than the marsupials in the Order to which it belongs. But not all works considered in this chapter apply the scientific name to the image, with the two books by Schinz only calling the thylacine '*Harrisicher Beutelhund*' (pouch-dog) and Murray's geographical work stressing both the dog and opossum connections, indicating that associations with the dog in early forms of Figure 1 were still current, and that the distinctive place of the thylacine in the perceived order of beings was not necessarily recognised. The images to which these associations were applied seem to be the most innocuous, while the word 'wolf' in the caption accompanying the image in Bicknell's *Scripture Natural History* gives a foretaste of attitudes that take precedence in the following years. Many of the works discussed here also record the common names given to the species and these often override scientific nomenclature in zoological and natural history works, and tend to persist once applied.

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[75] According to Oldfield Thomas, the classification *Paracyon* "has no claim to adoption, as its original mention is unaccompanied not only be a diagnosis, but also by any indication of what species it is intended to contain, although its author afterwards assigned it to the Thylacine" (*Catalogue of Marsupalia* 255). See Figure 4 for an image given this name. Although classification of the thylacine in the genus *Thylacinus* has been generally accepted in the twentieth century, it is interesting that recently the other classifications mentioned here have received some support.

The nature of the ideas about the thylacine developing in the colony is clearly suggested by the names reported in settlers' accounts and guidebooks. As Dale Spender points out, naming constructs reality, it is an attempt to give order and structure to objects in the world and control the flux of existence. Naming imposes meanings, which then allow certain groups to manipulate the world or the things in it (Spender 164). Visualisations of the 'new' continents and islands encountered by European settlers, explorers and scientists were shaped by the different names employed to classify the physical evidence they found. But Spender goes on to state, "names which cannot draw on the past are meaningless. New names, then, have their origins in the perspective of those doing the naming rather than in the object that is being named ... new names systematically subscribe to old beliefs, they are locked into principals that already exist, and there seems no way out of this even if those principals are inadequate or false" (164). The process of giving common names to animals in the territories settled by Europeans encodes fears and mythologies that already existed and the history of the thylacine is an example of how appellations can influence reality. The very first detailed description of the species from the north of Tasmania in 1805 by Lieutenant Governor Paterson notes that "the form of the animal is that of the hyæna" (Paterson 1805), in 1820 it was referred to as "a species of hyena" (Jeffreys 108), in 1822 it was called an "opossum-hyena' (Evans, *Description of VDL* 56) and in 1829 Widowson also referred to the species as "hyena" (179-80). Several other reports and accounts of the colony in the 1830s refer to the name "hyena-opposum" implying that it was the most common name applied to the animal there at the time (Breton, *Excursions in NSW* 407-8; Mudie 175-6; Martin, *History of Australasia* 327). Some of the associations connected with this name have been mentioned in Figure 1, but the most damaging implication for the thylacine was that the species had an organised method of hunting and attacking sheep. This behaviour, however, was not relevant in regard to the thylacine (Jones and Stoddart, "Reconstruction" 243; Guiler, *Thylacine* 14-20; Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 98-110).

Another animal that had an established reputation as a sheep-killer was the wolf, and its name was also associated with the thylacine from the earliest days of settlement. Both Harris and Paterson compare the thylacine with the wolf, while Martin mentions the species in relation to the thylacine's jaws (*History of Australasia* 327). The illustration in Bicknell's work, labelled 'New South Wales Wolf', takes the comparison a step further (**trans. f**). The wolf and hyena were often mentioned in similar terms, as Volume 11 of an early work about the colony, *The History of New South Wales including Botany Bay, Port Jackson, Parramatta, Sydney and all its Dependencies* ... 1810, demonstrates. It includes a comment from Paterson's account on "a species of hyena lately seen at Port Dalrymple" northern Tasmania, but calls it "extremely fierce" and adds a line that does *not* occur in Paterson's

description: "this creature does not attack human beings, but confines its ravages to sheep and poultry" (Barrington 433). The work contains a detailed entry about "The Hyena" calling it "the most cruel and ferocious of all animals" and commenting that "its shape is nearly the same as the Wolf" and that, "like the wolves, they are said to dig up the graves to get at the dead" and, finally, "they have been said to rush upon young children in open day, and carry them off to their dens in the mountains" (433-4). The only relevance this item appears to have to the colonies it describes is the association of the hyena with the thylacine.[76] These are the wider implications involved in naming: both the hyena and the wolf had a long history of denigration and persecution. The specific results of wolf naming will be dealt with in Figure 4.

A general complaint from one of the colonies addressed the application of common names to animals of other species. In 1843 S.S. Haldeman, Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, published an essay "On the Impropriety of Using Vulgar names in Zoology". Haldeman points out that "vernacular names ... were merely for the mass of mankind" and that such names were often applied thoughtlessly, and sometimes by those "evil disposed". He also notes that these "spurious names are cut upon the plates of illustrated works" and that in some works the common names are not those that are commonly used (2). Whether the latter is the case with the thylacine or not, the common names given to the animal reflected animosity towards the species, and had the capacity to produce and reinforce negative practices toward it as ideas and people moved between Europe and Australia. The majority of the population knew the thylacine only by these common names, with the term 'thylacine' rarely used until very recently. The thylacine was also referred to as 'Tiger' intermittently during this period. Martin offers it as one of a number of common names, Widowson also mentions it being used, Breton calls the species the "native tiger", Mrs Prinsep refers to a wild cat "called the tiger" (89) and Mudie also includes "tiger" among the names given to the thylacine. One name often mentioned refers to the early classification of the thylacine in the Didelphis or opossum family, but this reference is often combined with other names – as in "hyena-opossum" – to effectively counteract any suggestions of harmlessness. While many Australian animals were given labels that referred to European species, there have been no studies that examine the effect this naming had on the animals involved. The Tasmanian devil, now endangered by disease, is one species that appears to have avoided the effects of deliberate persecution, despite its name. However, the impact of naming on species needs to be investigated, because names

[76] An entry for the "Cameleopard, or the Giraffe" is also included in this work on the colony of New South Wales, with no indication of the areas it supposedly inhabits.

are one element in the representation of animals that has been changed in the past, and can be changed again.

Summary

Images of the thylacine discussed in this chapter show how ideas about the species slowly altered and re-formed; how ideas moved between different continents and between different interest groups; and then how, influenced by economic interests, various notions began to constitute a discourse. But while visualisations in this chapter vary more than those in any other period and images continued to develop, they are consistent in one particular point throughout the nineteenth century: despite the obvious significance of their classification as marsupials, not one image associated with natural history publications shows a visible pouch until a painting of animals in the Washington Zoo appeared in 1902.[77] Over the remainder of the nineteenth century, constructions of the species in natural history imagetexts emphasise carnivorous behaviour and constantly label the thylacine a dangerous predator.[78] That this construction was in some part informed by economic interests and concerns in both Britain and the colony regarding the sheep industry is supported by evidence of strong links between property owners, the administration of the colony, British investors and the Crown. There was a bourgeoning market for fine wool in Europe, the Van Diemen's Land Company was granted land by royal decree, its directors were resident in Britain and secretary of the Company, Edward Curr, held a seat on the Van Diemen's Land legislative council in 1830 when the first bounty was placed on the thylacine (Meston passim; Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 116; Tasmania, *Consitution Act*).[79] As Van Diemen's Land was administered from Britain until 1855, landowners, sheep farmers and stock agents in both places were significant players in the government of the colony and frequently connected by networks of power and influence with the writers and/or readers of the books in which the images appeared (for instance, see Figure 3). The transformations in visual and verbal constructions and the new features with which the species was endowed operated against the thylacine in a similar way to propaganda, supporting the interests of stakeholders in the wool industry.

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[77] This painting and another show a thylacine that arrived at Washington Zoo in 1902 with three pouch-young. See Figure 5 for details and photographs of these animals.

[78] In his study of the causes of the thylacine's extinction, Paddle (2000) makes much of an attitude he calls "placental chauvinism" which is expressed in the idea that marsupials are inferior to placental mammals. Although this attitude is readily apparent in many natural history works and the thylacine is placed in the category of marsupial, the species is usually described in terms that stress carnivorous characteristics and behaviour related to mammals more familiar to Europeans, as will be seen in Figure 4 and variations.

[79] See Paddle *The Last Tasmanian Tiger*, pages 112-23, for an outline of the Company's early activities, how the thylacine came to be included in the first bounty scheme 1830-38, and available figures for claims.

The following chapters show how the version of reality inscribed in zoological and natural history works became the established discourse of the thylacine and the effect this had on the species. As mentioned above, Edward Lear's drawing of the thylacine was not used for William Jardine's series *The Naturalist's Library*; instead, the figure that eventually appeared in the *Marsupalia* volume was drawn by William Dickes. It is one of the most anatomically misleading impressions of the species; it corresponds closely to the suggestion in previous texts that the thylacine was dangerous, violent and *unheimlich*; the image was one of the most persistently re-used and copied representations of the nineteenth century; and the work it appeared in is held in seven library collections in Tasmania.

FIGURE 2

THE UNDESIRABLE THYLACINE **1840-1925**

The second major figure of the thylacine emerges around 1840, when the study of natural history as a recreational activity was becoming increasingly popular, affordable publications were available and aimed at a general audience, and the sale and circulation of books was burgeoning. Lynn Barbar attributes the attractiveness of natural history in the early nineteenth century, particularly in Britain, to the discouragement of its study in schools and stagnation in biological progress, which rendered the parameters of the subject static and accessible. She describes interest in natural history as a "national obsession" and books on the topic as "only marginally less popular than the novels of Dickens" (14-15). Apart from buying books, Ritvo notes that by 1821 readers had access to works through thousands of clubs and non-circulating libraries in Britain (*Animal Estate* 9). In Tasmania, books were also available through private collections, Mechanics Institute libraries (1829+), local subscription libraries (1833+) and the main scientific resource, the Royal Society Library (1846), which was intended to be "widely accessible to the public" (Piesse 154). This extensive dissemination of natural history works has important implications for the generation and diffusion of images and ideas about the thylacine, while economic factors affected the content of books, the way they were produced and marketed, and where the focus of the concepts they projected lay. The centrepiece of this chapter, the illustration of the species in *The Naturalist's Library*, had the potential to make a considerable impact on perceptions of the thylacine. Some elements of the image are apparent in the transformations discussed in the preceding chapter and it is also significant that the illustration developed soon after the introduction of the first bounty on the animal by the Van Diemen's Land Company in 1830. Indeed, this illustration embodies the economic imperatives of the Company, showing how assumptions and expedience were expressed in a visualisation of 'reality' that referenced despised animals of the Old World. It demonstrates how early anxieties and speculations were distilled into loathing for the species.

The development of negative attitudes is also articulated in the naming of the animal in other works published at the time – "hyæna opossum or tiger" (Martin, *History of Austral-Asia* 27), "native tiger or hyena" (Breton, "Excursion to the Western Range" 125), "tiger and hyena" and "zebra-wolf" (Carpenter 347). Paradoxically, the labels given to the illustration in *The Naturalist's Library*, its copies, and images derived from it, generally revert to the species' scientific name or simply designate the image 'Thylacine'. The illustration is particularly significant in that it first appears in a popular work that was marketed as an

essentially 'scientific' series; it epitomises the transformation of traditional zoological illustrations into images with wider appeal, as publishing houses competed in pursuit of a mass audience.

The images that make up Figure 2, then, mark a turning point in the representation of the species as well as a defining moment in natural history publishing. Although they conform to some aspects of standard zoological illustrations, they are adapted to popular taste. To varying degrees, these images of the thylacine resemble what is perceived in Western society as "vermin": they have the cringing, cowardly attitude attributed to the fox or hyena. They also appear in the temporal space between the first visualisation of a live animal in Tasmania and the arrival of the thylacine at a European zoo. As such, they are figments of the cultural imagination that justified the first bounty and encouraged hunting and killing of the species.

Natural History Publishing

The Naturalist's Library is a forty-volume work edited by William Jardine and published in Edinburgh at intervals of three months or so between 1833 and 1854. Comparable popular natural history works existing at the time include *The History of the World and Animated Nature* by Oliver Goldsmith, a work that had appeared in multiple editions since the eighteenth century and relied on an amalgam of stories, many derived from medieval writing, an English translation of Baron Cuvier's *The Animal Kingdom*, and Buffon's *Natural History of the Globe* (Pitman passim). According to Susan Sheet-Pyenson, the collaboration of the publisher and engraver of *The Naturalist's Library*, W.H. Lizars, and the editor, naturalist Sir William Jardine, took advantage of a surge of interest in novel species, an insatiable demand for inexpensive works of identification and new technologies such as steam printing, stereotyping and steel engraving. The serialised release and format of the work was designed to appeal to "all but the lowest levels of the Victorian middle classes", with its cost of 6 shillings "a fraction of the price of most natural history books at that time" (Sheets-Pyenson 51-3).[80] Well-known scientists were engaged to write the texts and each volume included an extended memoir of a well-known naturalist. The series, then, was perceived to have a firm scientific basis combined with a low cost and staggered release.

A large part of the appeal of the series was in the small size and "ornamental" nature of the volumes bound in morocco leather and embossed with gilt. As Lizars notes in a letter to Jardine, "our Book is an ornamental one as much as a scientific one" and of crucial

[80] David Allen maintains that the low price of the books in the series was possible because Sir William Jardine, the backer and conceiver of the series, subsidised the publication. Allen writes that according to the *Magazine of Natural History* they were less than a third of the price of natural history books of similar quality (98). However, Sheets-Pyenson (53) states that Lizars assumed full financial responsibility for the enterprise.

importance were the hundreds of lively hand-coloured illustrations, of which "the more beautiful figures should come first" (*Letters to William Jardine* 10/1/1835). Lizars maintained that the images were the key to the series' success because "anyone unacquainted with zoology can obtain pleasure and profit from glancing at illustrations alone" (Sheets-Pyenson 54-7). Indeed, an edition that contained only the illustrations, called *Leaves from the Book of Nature*, was also published. This very large volume highlights the movement and vigour of the images compared with the inert zoological forms appearing in scientific journals and most other zoological works of the time. Myriad small hand-coloured images adorn the huge pages like tiny jewels, particularly in the case of species such as humming–birds. However, notations underneath the illustrations show the sources of many images, for instance, under the hippopotamus the name "Daniels" appears; the Indian rhinoceros is held at Liverpool Zoological Gardens; and the two-horned Sumatran rhinoceros is derived from "F. Cuvier". These few simple words undercut the vigour of many of the images. On page 97 various marsupials are shown without backgrounds, three dull-coloured figures are labelled "native to Van Diemens' Land" and two of these have open mouths and look vicious (Lizars, *Natural History* 15, 97).[81] The effect of physical, textual, discursive and notional framing on the perception of images is demonstrated by comparing the illustrations in this work with the same ones in the many small books of the 40 volume series, each with their detailed texts. In the latter, the animals leap into life.

The combination of authoritative and informative text and entertaining illustrations in *The Naturalist's Library* was extremely successful, with introductory volumes receiving exuberant reviews and early releases being so popular that the publisher could not keep up with the demand for new volumes (Allen 95-8; Sheets-Pyenson 60-7). Sheets-Pyenson believes that this, and other entrepreneurial exercises in natural history publishing, shaped as well as predicted the popular taste of the reading public (52). The 'taste' for vigorous and entertaining images and its interpretation as seen in illustrations of the thylacine has implications that will become apparent in the following analysis of the image it contains. An additional insight into the motivations behind the production of the series, and how its popularity was achieved in relation to the thylacine entry, can be gleaned from extant letters between the publisher, printer and engraver, W.H. Lizars; the writer of the volume on Marsupalia, G.R. Waterhouse; and the artist, Edward Lear, with the editor of the series, Sir William Jardine. The popularity and wide dissemination of *The Naturalist's Library* in Tasmania is indicated by its inclusion in nineteenth century catalogues such as that of the

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[81] A "popular, authentic description" of Van Diemen's Land published in 1844, just after *The Naturalist's Library: Marsupalia* appeared, describes the island as "a delightful mixture of the wild and the beautiful", with "lofty cliffs fringed with forests and verdure to the water's edge" (Martin, *The British Colonial Library* 258).

Van Diemen's Land Mechanics Institute, the Tasmanian Public Library, the Launceston Mechanics Institute, Longford Library, the Bothwell Literary Society and Westcott's Books. There is also evidence that it was sought by prominent Tasmanian naturalist R.C. Gunn who sent the first thylacines to London from Launceston in 1850 (Gunn, *Catalogue of Books* 4). Copies of the series are currently held in the University of Tasmania's Rare collection and in the Reference collection of the State Library of Tasmania.

The Naturalist's Library

The engraving of the thylacine first published in 1841 in volume XXIV of *The Naturalist's Library – Mammalia: Marsupalia or Pouched Animals*, volume XI of the volumes dealing with mammals – is made from a drawing by William Dickes (**fig. 2**). The writer of this volume, G.R. Waterhouse, recommended Dickes as illustrator for the volume because he was "the *best* artist I know for such subjects" (*Letter to William Jardine* 2/7/1838).[82] However, the only copy of the series I have viewed that includes the inscription "Dickes delt." beneath the illustration of the thylacine is one that is held in the Allport Library at the State Library of Tasmania. A copy of the set in the Royal Society of Tasmania library, dated 1841, has an identical image but with *no* Dickes signature, although the engraving of the platypus in the same volume is inscribed "Dickes delt.". Tom Iredale comments on the omission of artist's names from illustrations, as well as the confusion created by three title pages for the work and the many reprints and alterations to the series (322-25). Subsequent uses of the image are just as inconsistent. For instance, the plates from Marsupalia seem to have been used in *A Handbook to the Marsupalia and Monontremata* by Lydekker for Allen's Naturalist's Library (1894) and Lloyd's Natural History (1896) discussed below, although the comments about illustrations in the preface are ambiguous and they are only attributed to "Wyman and Sons printer". In *Phases of Animal Life* (1892), however, Dickes' name - as well as Lizars' - is retained, and the attribution "From Jardine" is included beneath the image. Illustrations in all editions of *The Naturalist's Library*, however, include the imprint "W.H. Lizars", the well-known Edinburgh printers and publishers of the set.

Apart from imprints and signatures, the images in the 1841 and 1884 editions of the work are identical, with the figure of the thylacine facing to the right of the page in a crouching position against an elaborate and intricately worked bank of flowering plants and grasses.[83]

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[82] In a letter to Lizars in 1838, Waterhouse mentioned that Dickes had illustrated "Bell's *British Quadrupeds* and Mr Darwin's work, *The Voyage of the Beagle*" (*Letter to William Jardine* 2/7/1838).

[83] Unfinished drawings in a folder of drawings and prints for *The Naturalist's Library* in the National Library of Scotland show that backgrounds were worked up around pencil outlines of the figures, that is, they were drawn separately from the finished figure, perhaps by another artist. Another folder in the Scottish Museum shows hand coloured figures on detailed, but uncoloured backgrounds, as occurs in some editions of the work.

This background and the fine detail in the steel-engraved figure that accentuates fur, claws and teeth, underscores the 'naturalness' of the animal's attitude. It looks aggressive, but the humped back, splayed front legs and lowered position of the head and neck signify that this animal is being threatened and is taking a defensive stance. The back legs are loosely bent, not taut and ready to spring; the wide eye showing white denotes fear; the ears are erect and attentive to the front. The picture shows a terrified animal facing an enemy; it is vulnerable. But recognition of this message requires a leap in time, attitude and perception, for the cultural expectations of most nineteenth century viewers would have meant that this figure was read as a vicious animal threatening an invisible pursuer – something or someone outside the picture's frame. Because the thylacine was the dominant predator in the Tasmanian landscape, the point of view is fixed: the pursuer has to be a human or a dog and the picture is unlikely to evoke any feelings of concern for the species that may have been possible in the case of Harris' image of an injured animal, or in some illustrations in transformations. The figure on the pages of *The Naturalist's Library* is defensive, tightly coiled like a spring, interminably waiting for the danger to recede; it does not.

The pointed nose and crouching position of the thylacine results in a form that most viewers today compare to a rat, an animal regarded as vermin in Western countries since they were associated with death and disease after the Great Plague that swept in Europe in the seventeenth century. But the position of the figure is similar to Dickes' illustration of a species of jackal or fox classified as *Canis fulvipes* in the section Mammalia in Charles Darwin's *The Zoology of the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle*, especially in the angle of the front legs, the upraised head and snarling mouth. [84] Taxidermists describe this tense, defensive attitude as the 'red fox' position (Ken Everett pers. comm. 2005). Like the wolf, the fox has traditionally been considered cowardly and cunning and in the eighteenth century became the object of organised hunting.[85] The text in the section on Marsupalia also states that the thylacine was commonly called "zebra opossum" and "zebra wolf" but that it is now referred to as "hyæna". As discussed in transformations, the hyena was also a universally hated animal associated with appetite, grave-robbing and death. In Buffon's *Natural History* 1831 the striped hyæna is said to "reside in the caverns of mountains, in the clefts of rocks, or in dens",[86] to live "by depredation, like the wolf", "break open sheep-cotes at night", sometimes attack man and ravage with a "voracity insatiable". The entry concludes,

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[84] G.R. Waterhouse also wrote the section on Mammalia in *The Voyage of the Beagle*, but while the figures are similar to the marsupials in *The Naturalist's Library,* the backgrounds are completely different. This supports the idea that a different artist sometimes executed the backgrounds of natural history illustrations; as Chris Smeenk points out, this is an "altogether unexplored field of study" in zoological literature (pers. comm. 22/9/04).

[85] In an essay on foxhunting in England, Garry Marvin draws attention to the relationship between the idea of the fox as vermin and the practice of foxhunting as sport (200-208).

[86] Compare this description with that given by Harris in Figure 1.

however, "of few animals, have so many absurd stories been told" (54-8). Some of these stories are identical to those told about the thylacine, for instance, that the animal will gnaw its own leg off and is savage and untameable. In the Introduction to *Marsupalia*, the author of the volume G.R. Waterhouse points out that he has not "generally adopted" common names, as other authors have, and specifically mentions that the Native Hyæna "bears no affinities with the real Hyæna" (*Marsupalia* 74). Indeed, the label beneath the image of the thylacine uses its scientific name and the entry is headed "The Thylacinus", despite the publisher of the series urging the editor, Sir Edward Jardine – "you must give English names of some kind to [the illustrations], for a popular work such as this intends to be cannot do without them" (Lizars, *Letters to William Jardine* 15/1/1833). Although Waterhouse espoused a 'scientific' approach to labelling, the contents of his text show that few Australian animals were so relentlessly aligned with species considered ferocious or repulsive as the thylacine was through naming, narrative associations and imagery.

Waterhouse was curator of mammals at the British Museum from 1836 to 1842 and also curator of the Zoological Society Museum, and wrote widely on zoological subjects.[87] He had a special interest in taxonomy and brought a diligently scientific approach to the work that seems from this vantage point to be at odds with the dramatic and forceful images. While it was the stated desire of the publishers to produce "popular showy plates" that "excited the public" (Lizars, *Letters to William Jardine* 6/7/1836), the meticulous rhetorical delineation of the thylacine exemplifies what is perceived as close, 'objective', scientific observation that is rare in popular zoological works. The first part of the entry consists of an examination of the animal's body that has a positive interaction with the techniques of engraving fine detail onto the cold steel sheet that produced the visual image. Embedded in the account are the movements of the human hands that facilitate a minute observation. The writer handles the ears – "on the inner side the hairs are brown-white, slightly inclining to yellowish"; feels the hair on the tail – "it is covered with somewhat woolly fur like that of the body", "*beneath*, the hairs are comparatively long"; examines the snout – "the muzzle is dusky; the hairs on the upper lip are white"; carefully turns the animal over – "on the belly the hairs are also brown at the base, but rather paler than those on the back"; fingers the feet – "[the] underside of the toes is devoid of hair and exceedingly rough; a narrow naked space extends from the great pad at the base"; and opens the pouch – "the hairs in the region of the pouch of the female are of a deep rust colour" (Waterhouse, *Marsupalia* 123-6). Interacting with the precise incisions of fur and claw in the engraving, this intrusive, obsessional

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[87] G.R. Waterhouse's brother, Frederick George Waterhouse was also a zoologist and worked at the British Museum. He came to Australia in 1852 where he became the first curator of the South Australian Museum. A natural history art prize is now offered by the Museum to commemorate his work.

recording of the animal's body produces what Barthes calls "the reality effect" that "makes notation the pure encounter of an object and its expression". The insistent recording of details amounts to "referential plenitude" that *no function can justify* (Barthes, *Rustle of Language* 148, 141). Even though the form of the thylacine was so unique and unusual to European viewers, much of the information contained in this description is superfluous, serving only to objectify the animal, authenticate the work, or justify scientific scrutiny and the collection of 'knowledge'. In essence, the imagetext is a political description – the result of a defining and controlling gaze – with the text, in particular, demonstrating power in the guise of the "simple, artless reflection" of the scientific investigator (Nochlin 123).[88] Waterhouse concludes his entry with "the above description is taken from a specimen in the Museum of the Zoological Society" and he includes a footnote referring also to "two skins" (Waterhouse, *Marsupalia* 123-6).

While the popular image and scientific text work together in an unexpected way to produce an effect of precision and realism, there is a physical distance between them that undermines the effectiveness of their interaction. For instance, the illustration, "Plate V" in volume XI of most editions of *The Naturalist*, is grouped with others at the back of the book and quite difficult to locate, creating a rupture between clinical rhetorical description and dramatic image. There is no reference to the engraving in the text and no specific indication as to the model used for Dickes' drawing of the thylacine; however, in a letter to Jardine headed "Zoological Society" and mentioning Dickes' engagement, Waterhouse comments "we possess upwards of fifty species of Marsupial animals in our Museum and several alive in the Menagerie, there is therefore abundance of material" (Waterhouse, *Letter to William Jardine* 16/7/1838). It is safe, then, to assume that the model for the text, a mounted specimen listed in the 1838 catalogue of the Society, was also the model for the illustration.[89] A specimen of the thylacine with short, bent legs, a restrained head and open mouth – an attitude that is markedly different from most others in museums in Europe and Australia, but stunningly similar to that of the animal in the illustration – is held by Otago Museum in New Zealand (Sleightholme CD2). As the Zoological Society's Museum collection was sold in 1856, it is possible that this very close match found its way there, but there are no records for the mount and no indication of where it originated (Ilka Soehle pers. comm. 15/3/05). Advice from taxidermists and museum staff suggests that it is an example from early in the

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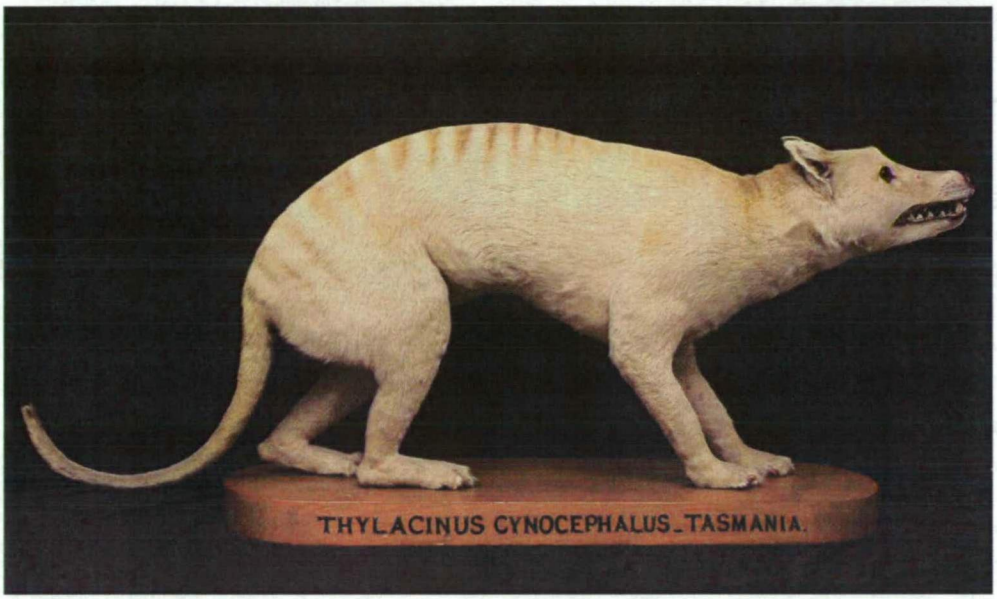
[88] Barthes concept of the "reality effect" developed in relation to literary fiction; Linda Nochlin perceives this 'effect' in Orientalist art, commenting that Jean-Léon Gérôme's painting "Street in Algiers" "tries to make us forget that his art is really art ... by insisting on a plethora of authenicating details" (Nochlin 122). I refer to it in relation to the 'artfulness' of zoological illustrations and description.

[89] Edward Lear's drawing of the thylacine, which was not used for this volume of *The Naturalist's Library*, has a similar attitude. See transformations for a discussion of Lear's association with *The Naturalist's Library*.

century, made by a practitioner unfamiliar with the species who assumed the thylacine was fox-like and so mounted a skin in the 'red fox' position (Ken Everett pers. comm. 19/4/05; Max Wilson pers. comm. 24/5/05). On the other hand, if the mount was made after 1841 when Dickes' drawing appeared, it is possible that the taxidermist used the image in *The Naturalist's Library* as a model for the mount, rather than the other way around.[90] If this is the case, the three-dimensional representation gives Dickes' image even wider resonances, as



Illus. 6 Taxidermy mount, Otago Museum New Zealand (Sleightholme VT2607).

it carries the authority of a 'specimen' and receives the even wider popular and scientific exposure afforded by its display in a public institution.

A letter from Waterhouse to Jardine specifically about the artist 'Mr Dickes', mentions that he "has been for some time past so exceedingly busy that I could not get him to come here and work for us" and that Dickes takes work home to 'finish up' (*Letter to William Jardine* 18/4/1839). However, in a final correspondence Waterhouse stresses that he is "much pleased" with Dickes' drawings and that "no pains have been spared to make them correct – they are drawn under my own eye" and that they are only taken home to finish and to add the backgrounds. He adds, "they then undergo a second examination and are *corrected from the specimens*" (*Letter to William Jardine* 30/6/1839, my italics).[91] The Jardine letters also give

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[90] It is possible to test particles from a mount to determine its age and place of production. Unfortunately, time and finance have precluded this in the case of the Otago mount.

[91] A receipt from Mr Dickes for 35 drawings at 15 shillings each was enclosed with a letter from Waterhouse to Jardine dated 26/10/1841. In this letter Waterhouse announced that he had little to finish of the text but the introduction, and feared the Marsupial volume as a whole would "extend to the full limits of the ordinary size of one of your volumes". Earlier, he worried about the size and content of the Introduction, commenting "As most of the important characters in the *Marsupiata* are connected with the generation of other points of a similar unpopular nature, I have been somewhat puzzled to manage my introduction – I read it over to a friend last night to learn whether he thought I had gone too far – he says no and I hope you will be of the same opinion"

an insight into the publication of natural history works that indicates 'scientific' rigour such as this was not always exercised in the production of illustrations for the series. Sheet-Pyenson comments that, as specimens that could serve as models were scarce in Edinburgh, an inexpensive solution was to trace plates from other works that Lizars could then "engrave directly ... without paying artist fees" (Sheets-Pyenson 66).[92] When time was at a premium and artists were busy, they could also copy illustrations from previous works, as is made clear in a letter from Lizars to Jardine in 1835 when he suggests: "whatever figures you select from Daniel's *Africa* I will get Stuart [James Stewart, the artist who drew the majority of the illustrations for *The Naturalist' Library*] to redraw in such positions as will defy challenge from the Proprietors and I also intend him to draw all those from Cuvier – mark the Countries where the animals come from that the proper scenery may be introduced" (Lizars, *Letters to William Jardine* 16/2/1835). Indeed, when the illustration of the thylacine in *The Naturalist's Library* is compared to the appealing image that appears in Cuvier's *Le Règne Animal* (trans. a) some resemblance can be found in the shape of the head, the position of the ears and eyes, and the general proportions of the body. If Lizars was particularly interested in speed and low cost of production, as Sheets-Pyenson suggests (62-7), Dickes could have saved time by transforming the static, innocent-looking French zoological image into a crouching, snarling animal that would appeal to a popular audience rather than bother to carefully draw the Zoological Museum specimen, especially as there was no copyright agreement between France and Britain until 1852 (Guise 12). But the intense energy and menace projected by the image implies that there were other factors motivating the artist and taxidermist than merely a desire to produce an 'accurate' or lively figure.

Moves to eradicate the thylacine in northwestern Tasmania preceded the writing and preparation of the volume in 1838-9 by 8 years, but the mention of sheep predation arose long before. The first I have found is in George Barrington's *History of New South Wales ... and all its dependencies* ... dated 1810, where it is stated "a species of hyena has lately seen at Port Dalrymple [a likely reference to Paterson's report], extremely fierce, having a very large mouth, strong sharp claws, and very strong limbed." The text then maintains that it "does not attack human beings, but confines its ravages to sheep and poultry" (262-3). In another work, published in 1819, W.C. Wentworth followed this with a reference to "an

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(Waterhouse, *Letter to William Jardine* 28/1/1841). The volume contains descriptions of nearly 90 species; in his final letter the sense of satisfaction is palpable.

[92] William Dickes was a relatively unknown artist, while Edward Lear already had a reputation for drawing parrots for the Zoological Society of London. Lear received £1/50 each for drawings that were used for *Felinae* (Lear 16.7.1834), while Dickes was paid only 15 shillings for each illustration he did for *Marsupalia* (Waterhouse, *Letter to William Jardine* 7/2/1840). See transformations for more about Lear's association with *The Naturalist's Library*.

animal of the panther tribe" which "commits dreadful havoc among the flocks"(118-9), which is repeated in Evans' *Description of Van Diemen's Land* in 1822 (*Description of Van Diemen's Land, with Important Hints to Emigrants* 56-7). Paddle argues that these largely unfounded claims of sheep-killing as an established habit of the thylacine were made as "a political gesture to gain primary investment interest in the colony of New South Wales" rather than Tasmania, pointing out that Wentworth's statements about the thylacine, that "bore so little resemblance to reality", were much repeated by other authors (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 103-4).[93] In 1830 these scattered reports about the disposition of the thylacine coalesced in a memorandum from the Van Diemen's Land Company by Edward Curr, who had earlier railed against sheep-stealing but made not a mention of attacks by thylacines, informing the public that the Hampshire and Surrey Hills Establishment was authorised to pay rewards for the destruction of the "hyena", Tasmanian devils and wild dogs. Payments for thylacines were double that offered for the devils and feral dogs (Guiler and Godard 112) despite the lack of evidence for sustained attacks on sheep. Paddle suggests that the thylacine served as "a convenient scapegoat" for a variety of problems encountered by the VDL Company in the years preceding the introduction of the 1830 bounty that resulted in stock losses (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 114-5).[94] In addition to knowledge of the bounty's existence, the most immediate and compelling source for the picture of the thylacine in *The Naturalist's Library* is revealed in the descriptive text that accompanies it, which quotes settler and naturalist Ronald Gunn's report of the species from the *Annals of Natural History* 1838 – "the Thylacinus is common in the more remote parts of the colony ... it *usually* attacks sheep at night ... its pace is very slow" (my italics). This rhetorical imagery would have provided sufficient justification for the depiction of an animal that could and should be exterminated. Also quoted are several passages from Harris's description, including reference to the trapped animal he observed (Waterhouse, *Marsupalia* 128). Perhaps the figure in *The Naturalist's Library* is a visualisation of how artist and engraver imagined a trapped, *un*injured thylacine would look and behave.

A French work published in 1835 provides another perspective on the 'problem' of sheep and the thylacine. Volume 3 of *Voyage autour du Monde par les de l'inde et de Chine la Favorite* by M. Laplace designates the thylacine the only real enemy of the sheep flocks and states that it is named devil-dog (*chien du diable*) by the farmers, due to its "bloodthirsty and cunning instinct". The reference to 'devil' implies that reports about the thylacine may have

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[93] In 1813 W.C. Wentworth and John Macarthur, later called the 'father' of the Australian sheep industry, had discovered a way across the Blue Mountains near Sydney and opened up the vast and fertile country in the west of New South Wales for sheep grazing.

[94] Chapter 5 of Robert Paddle's book, *The Last Tasmanian Tiger* contains a detailed analysis of the evidence for and against the thylacine as a significant sheep predator.

been confused with those concerning the Tasmanian devil. But then the text expresses a faint concern – "the war to the death the European dogs wage on it has greatly diminished the species. Unfortunately this war has not been fatal just to the beasts of prey; the graceful and harmless kangaroo has only been able ... to escape with great difficulty ...". Reference is then made to the English, "who are starting to lament the rapid disappearance of the different varieties of this singular quadruped, which nature has only granted to New Holland and Van-Diemen" (Laplace 225, trans. Liz Koolhof). This comment shows how French publications were more sensitive to the predicament of animals in the colonial possessions of other countries, while works published in Britain – where wool buyers, investors, and others with interests in Van Diemen's Land were resident – encouraged the extermination of the thylacine and showed little concern about other animals that might be affected by European settlement practices. The observation that the English were "starting to lament" the disappearance of the thylacine in 1835, however, is not in evidence in the titles I discuss in this thesis. Indeed, the situation in which the thylacine now found itself is encapsulated in the defensive stance of fig. 2. The impact of scientific curiosity about the species in Europe is also expressed in the obsessive detail of the text that accompanies it and the revelation that a number of specimens had already been shipped to Europe for research. With the slaughter of thylacines for bounty payments, dozens of animals killed for display in imperial exhibitions later in the century and the capture of animals for public exhibition in zoos that was soon to come, the specimens described in *The Naturalist's Library* directly contributed to the extinction of the relatively small population of thylacines in the colony. Images in natural history works such as this and those in which its many copies appeared, visualised, reinforced, and circulated the idea that the thylacine was an undesirable animal. A letter from Waterhouse to Jardine near the completion of the Marsupalia volume expressed his hope that "the work would not only be popular but might for a long time to come be a work for reference to professional naturalists" (*Letter to William Jardine* 28/1/1841). The 'authority', together with the commercial success of the series and the growing popularity, of works of this kind rendered this image particularly effective in depicting a 'fact', spreading a notion, and encouraging 'appropriate' actions.

Copies and Reproductions of the Image

The image of the thylacine in *The Naturalist's Library* appears again in Volume 1 of a two-volume work *A Natural History of the Mammalia* by Waterhouse that is dated 1846 and deals with marsupials (**fig. 2(i)**). This wood engraving is smaller, uncoloured, reversed (indicating it is a copy of the Lizars'illustration) and has no signatures; on the foot of the page the new engraver's name, H.S. Beckwith, is inscribed. The low ridge, grasses and

flowers that appear around the figure in the previous work have been reduced to a minimal foreground, but the position and attitude of the animal's body are the same, and the fur, teeth, tail and marking details are indistinguishable from Dickes' fox or rat-like image. The illustrations in this work are also grouped at the back of the book, but this time two to a page, with the figure of the thylacine the same size as the image of *Chironectes Variegatus* (a water opossum from Brazil) on the same page and those on surrounding pages. All of the other animals are placed in neutral positions, as if arrested momentarily in the process of passing the artist, and their mouths are closed, accentuating the tense and snarling features of the thylacine.[95] The text of this publication mentions the full range of common names given to the thylacine – Tiger, Zebra-Opossum, Zebra-Wolf and Dog-headed Opossum – but here Waterhouse gives a different impression of the animal than he did in his previous work. The similarity to a wolf is initially stressed: "about equal to the size of a Common Wolf ... general resemblance ... to a Wolf or large Dog" but later Waterhouse asserts that the thylacine can attain a "formidable size" (*Marsupiata* 456-7).

This description includes dimensions that are taken from a female and a male specimen in the British Museum; it states that there is also a skeleton of an adult male in the Museum of the College of Surgeons from which measurements of the skull have been recorded; and he mentions that "Prof. Owen" has dissected three specimens - two females and a male. Letters from Sir John Richardson to Richard Owen deposited in the National Library in Canberra state that Sir John Franklin had consigned "the mature carcase of one thylacine and the [?] of two others" as well as a young female specimen and various other body parts of members of the species, in dubious condition, to Owen at the British Museum in 1841 and 1843 (*Letters to Richard Owen* 20/4/1841, 28/4/1843). Owen's communication on the "Rudimental Marsupial Bones in the *Thylacinus*" was published in *The Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* in 1843; he assumed that the species "soon is likely to be, extinct" ("On Marsupial Bones" 149).[96] In his text in *The Natural History of Mammalia*, Waterhouse adds that there was evidence that four pouch-young had fed from the teats of one of the females before she had been killed (*Marsupiata* 461). In a passage about the thylacine in the *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science* 1846, the same year that Waterhouse's work was published, Lieutenant Breton relates an instance where the pouch-young of a slaughtered

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[95] In his book *The Art of Natural History*, Peter Dance attributes the "excitement" of the best of Joseph Wolf's pictures of animals to his "studies in tension, of animals about to move or at the completion of a movement", rather than attempts to "freeze a moment of actual movement" (174). See Figure 4 for examples of Wolf's illustrations of the thylacine.

[96] See Figure 4 for Owen's comments on extinction generally.

female thylacine "were found to adhere so firmly to the nipple, that it had to be cut, and the mouths of the young were then forced open".[97]

The silent text that accompanies these vignettes might read: the "carcases" that arrived in Britain were not only 'members of a species' or 'specimens', they were rarely-sighted individual animals from a small community that was gradually being reduced. According to *The Natural History of Mammalia*, the number of specimens available to scientists in Britain alone had increased from three to possibly six in the six years since Waterhouse wrote the text for *Marsupalia* in Jardine's *Naturalist's Library*. Paddle counts five specimens in Europe by 1827 (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 105). One was in the possession of the Linnean Society; two were in Leiden Museum in The Netherlands, another at Joshua Brookes Museum and another in the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris (Temminck 65; Renshaw, *More Essays* 219-20). By 1846, the specimens mentioned in *The Natural History of Mammalia* can be added to the list, but this too is a conservative estimate, as the International Thylacine Specimen Database compiled by Stephen Sleightholme identifies ninety-one taxidermy mounts in international museums at the present time. Although many of these are unable to be dated, some are in institutions not previously known to have thylacine material and it is probable that there were many more bodies and body parts exported than has formerly been realised and documented. While some traces of confinement and death as well as signifiers of absence and abjection occur in the entries for other marsupials and some of them also became extinct, others, like the kangaroo and the possum, survived and at times increased. While a detailed comparison of the entries for other species in natural history works is beyond the scope of this thesis, I found that the entry for the thylacine in many texts is longer and more comprehensive than that for other marsupials, implying that the animal was of particular scientific interest and therefore may have been more eagerly sought for examination. And while the entries for the possums in this work also include exact measurements and a record of the examination of hair colour on various parts of the body, few have references to skins, specimens, or dissection. In contrast to the imagetext about the thylacine, then, entries and images of other marsupials in this work connote *living* animals.

Reproductions from Lizars' original steel engraving plate (fig. 2) appear in three works by Richard Lydekker that appear at the time the government bounty of 1888-1908 was in force against the thylacine. In the case of all these works, the attribution "from Jardine" appears after the caption "The Australian Thylacine", and 'Dickes delt.' and 'Lizars sc.' is present on

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[97] Breton continues "they lived about two months in a room, and were then found dead in the fireplace, to which they had, it seems, retired for warmth" ("Excursion to the Western Range" 125-6).

either side of the print itself. Published in 1892, the work *Phases of Animal Life, Past and Present* takes a Darwinian approach (which will be discussed more fully in the following Figure) typical of zoological works of the late nineteenth century. The thylacine is one of several marsupials to be dealt with in the text and it is immediately revealed that the species "is commonly known to the colonists as the Wolf". This is confirmed in the following sentence where the Latinised name 'thylacine' is translated as "Pouched Wolf" and it is explained that this name is applied to the animal from its peculiarly "dog-like appearance". In scientific fashion, then, the ideas of 'wolf' and 'dog' are conflated by their classification and applied to a member of a completely different Family. The text then states that the thylacine "may indeed be regarded as playing the part of the wolf in Tasmania, and the damage inflicted by it on the flocks of the settlers is, or *was*, very considerable" (Lydekker, *Phases of Animal Life* 182-3, my italics). There is an explicit connection, then, between the visual image and the rhetorical imagery in the text that for many readers may have been reinforced by knowledge of the bounty on the species. The word "was" indicates the success of the proclamation: the thylacine is rapidly becoming part of the larger story told in works of this period:

> the history of the Marsupials – a history deeply interesting to the zoologist as showing how, humanly speaking, a type of animals, characteristic of an early part of the earth's existence, has been preserved to us in one remote region by the complete isolation of an island-continent, and in another by the retiring habits of its representatives and the absence of severe competition in the struggle for existence (Lydekker, *Phases of Animal Life* 185).

That is, until the arrival of Europeans in Australia.

Prints of Lizars' engraving also appears in identical contexts in 1894 and 1896 in two series called Allen's Naturalist's Library and Lloyd's Natural History. Both works are by Lydekker and called *A Handbook to the Marsupalia and Monotremata* and both have prefaces that state the work was designed as a cheaper alternative to Gould's *Mammals of Australia*, which was considered both "rare and costly" (see Figure 3). They were also intended to be a "scientific, yet popular, account of Australian Mammals" and it is stated, "especial care" had been taken with the plates, which are those "originally published in Jardine's *Naturalist's Library*". The editor acknowledges the "liberality" of the publishers of that text for allowing the reproduction of the plates that have been re-coloured "from actual specimens in the British Museum" and printed by Wyman and Sons Ltd. (*Marsupalia and Monotremata* v-vi). It is significant that at the height of the government bounty this figure appears in so many works. The frequent recycling of the illustration exemplifies how the same figure of the thylacine was often used in different publications and new sites over a

wide time-span and how the potential viewers of the image were thereby extended. As an extremely negative image, its increased exposure must have had a particularly adverse affect on perceptions of the species and reinforced the idea that the bounty was justified.

Ironically, in the introduction to these works, Lydekker admits and regrets that contemporary zoologists rely "for the most part" on observations of marsupials published "many years ago" (*Marsupalia and Monotremata viii*). He also notes that "so like in appearance to a Wolf is this animal, that the name of Tasmanian Wolf might well receive general adoption, were it not for the circumstances that the application of the name of a placental mammal to a marsupial is best, when possible, avoided". In fact, natural history works had begun to refer to Tasmanian Wolf or Marsupial Wolf during the 1870s, and by 1900 it was overwhelmingly preferred (see Table of Illustrations).[98] Later, Lydekker comments on the "ferocity" of the species and this time is quite explicit about its probable disappearance, adding "the Thylacine was at one time an abundant animal on its native island" and "the damage which it inflicts on the flocks of the settlers has, however, given rise to a relentless war of extermination, which has resulted in the almost complete extinction of this, the largest of the Australian carnivores, in the more settled portions of the country" (*Marsupalia and Monotremata* 152-3). This use of the figure and the texts that accompany it demonstrate how consistently negative constructions of the thylacine were developed, that references to sheep-killing become mandatory in the second half of the century and intensify during the 1880s and 1890s, as well as show the effects of such constructions in the references to the near extermination of the species.

Illustrations derived from *The Naturalist's Library*

The earliest variation of the engraving in *The Naturalist's Library* occurs in a French work by Paul Gervais, *Histoire Naturelle des Mammifères* published in 1855, and then in an undated four-volume work called *Cassell's Popular Natural History* and in several editions of *Johnson's Natural History* between 1879 and 1889 (**fig. 2a**). This engraving is clearly a copy of fig. 2 discussed above, with the figure having a similar elongated form, thin tail, humped back and rather delicate feet. But it lacks the signifiers of tension and threat in the previous engraving; that is, the open mouth, splayed front feet, the firmly grounded quality of all limbs, and alert ears placed far back on the head. The background, too, shows a more serene scene and lacks the turbulent lines that depict the bank behind the original figure, and the curving spear-like grasses that dominate it. This new thylacine looks almost cat-like, sinuous, with lines that appear to be whiskers and, while it does have wide eyes, there is

[98] I will discuss the implications of thylacine naming in respect to the wolf in more detail in Figure 4.

nothing else to indicate fear. This picture merely shows a strangely formed animal, not a hostile or dangerous one; it excites only curiosity, although a sensitive viewer may see a fleeting panic in its eyes. In the lack of ferocity projected by the image, it is consistent with other French works, but the textual entry describes the species as "almost as big as a wolf" and notes that its external figure, desires and habits are not so different from that species. It also maintains that "the English" call the species "tiger" or "hyena" because of its colour as well as its ferocity and goes on to discuss the classification, detail the dentition and describe the anatomy of the species also in the style of French scientific works (Gervais 280-1, trans. Liz Koolhof). As with many works that contain relatively sympathetic images, I found this work by Paul Gervais, not in Australia, but in the British Museum (Natural History) Library.

On the other hand, the first edition of *Cassell's Popular Natural History* which appeared in 1863 with subsequent editions c1870 and 1896 gives some idea of discourses about animals common in British works at the time. The introduction to the five-volume set stresses the uses of different species and begins "animal life is constantly claiming our attention. Animals supply us with food, minister to our pleasures; transport us from place to place". The creationist discourse is apparent in references to the "diffusion", "novelties" and "abundance" of nature with a capital 'N'. These are also labelled in economic terms as "Products" of the earth and the branches and divisions of these 'commodities' are noted. Animals are "arranged ... in a descending series, of which the first object of importance is Man" and, in the context of progress and economic management, it is not difficult to understand why sheep were given precedence over thylacines in the minds and actions of scientists and settlers. The work ethic that helps attain economic growth is applied to animals as the unnamed author envisages *all* mammals as potentially industrious subjects, dividing them into groups labelled four-handed, wing-handed, insect-eating, gnawing, flesh-eating, thick-skinned, ruminating, toothless and pouch-bearing.[99] Affirming the political and economic purpose of the work, the preface concludes by proclaiming the "national importance" of acclimatising animal species from temperate regions to Britain (Anon. *Cassell's* iii-iv). The gold-embossed, ornate volumes themselves demonstrate the achievements and value of human endeavour and express commercial imperatives. The work is typical of popular books of the period that celebrate the British Empire, industry,

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[99] In an appendix to his book "*On the Classification and Geographical Distribution of the Mammalia*", published in 1859, the same year Darwin's *Origin of the Species* appeared, Richard Owen set forth "the beneficence and intelligence of the Creative Power" in a particularly insistent manner: "In what have these mechanical instruments, the hands of the ape, the hoofs of the horse, the fins of the whale, the trowels of the mole, the wings of the bat ... in what, I say, have they differed from the artificial instruments which we ourselves plan with foresight and calculation for the analogous uses, save in the greater complexity, in their perfection, and in the unity and simplicity of the elements which are modified to constitute these locomotive organs?" (*On Classification* 56).

progress, Nature and the infinite variety of God's creation. Many also contain glaring errors and misinformation about animals. The other repository of this image, *Johnson's Natural History*, however, claims to be a "trustworthy key ... of the animal kingdom" and its five lines of text about the thylacine leave little room for error; however, it stresses the label 'wolf', talks of the power and size of the species, and its "frequent ... depredations among the sheep" (Goodrich 665).

A curious variation on the rat imagery in the primary figure in this chapter appears in a French work by a notoriously inaccurate naturalist called Dr Chenu in 1856 (**fig. 2b**).[100] The image in the *Encyclopédie d'Histoire Naturelle*, which I found in the Melbourne Museum Library, is obviously intended to denote the thylacine as it is labelled 'Thylacine à tête de Chien" (dog-headed thylacine), but the animal in the engraving looks exactly like a rat. It has the almost hairless tail of that animal as well as tiny legs and feet and long whiskers. The picture of the Tasmanian devil on a following page shows a similar image with long whiskers and shrunken limbs, indicating a basic misunderstanding about the form of these species. The only precursor I can find for this engraving is the image in *The Naturalist's Library*, so hence it is included in this Figure. The text also generates errors, claiming that Prince Charles Bonaparte, rather than C.J. Temminck, classified the species in a family of its own, which he gave the name *Thylacinidae.* The remainder of the entry gives a detailed description of the body, maintaining erroneously that the tail is compressed and that the animal is a swimmer and inhabits coastal regions. It concludes with a long discussion of the teeth of the thylacine compared with other carnivores and relates various theories about the classification of thylacines using fossil evidence (Chenu 522-4, trans. Nicole Johnson). The image and the text in this work shows how *un*objective and completely incorrect the representation of animals in scientific works can be, although the discourse that frames the image – the weighing of 'facts' and reciting of opinions – distracts the reader from questioning the veracity of the account, especially one who is unfamiliar with the thylacine, as most of the readers of this work would have been. Following the tradition of classical naturalists, the title page claims that the book is "the complete treatise" of natural science after the work of the most eminent naturalists of all countries and all times; often a sign that little has been done to verify the material included.

Another image, similar to that which appears in *Cassell's Popular Natural History*, was published in *The Museum of Natural History; The Animal Kingdom* in 1860 (**fig. 2c**). The text repeats many of the standard phrases in other works, but includes several that are

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[100] In the *Australian Museum Magazine* in 1922, Launcelot Harrison remarks "an amusing and bare-faced attempt to justify the use of Blumenbach's name [*paradoxus* for the platypus] is made by Chenu (1879)" (138).

unusual. It maintains that the thylacine seems to prefer sheep to "any other kind of animal food" and that a fossil of the species has been found in "the tertiary gypsum beds of Paris – a fact of extreme interest, taken in connection with other extinct marsupial remains elsewhere found in Europe, and demonstrating the wide geographical distribution these creatures maintained in former times" (Richardson et al., *Natural History* 215). The odd, distorted body of the figure in the illustration looks as if it had crawled out of the gypsum beds after a million years of sleep. The medium of lithography softens the image, so that while it has the same form as Dickes' illustration, none of the fear and little of the tension is evident.[101] The pleasing, cat-like face and short furry coat of the creature do not fit with the text that stresses its "highly carnivorous nature" and compares the animal to a wolf and a "fox-hound". Remnants of the image in *The Naturalist's Library*, in particular tall thick-leaved grasses, dwarf the animal and make its actual size uncertain. A feather-fronded plant has been added to give the picture an exotic tone and code it as Eastern. With a label of "Pouched wolf" this image supplies the features that exemplify the colonial discourse of the strange (Richardson et al., *Natural History* 215). Through ignorance and fear, the figure of the thylacine has been manipulated visually and rhetorically until it becomes a shadow of the terrified creature in *The Naturalist's Library*. The image illustrates how signifiers can be stripped from an illustration, as well as exposing the hollowness of claims regarding the factual basis of scientific works.

A more convincing copy of the engraving after Dickes' appears in a popular science work by Thomas Rymer Jones published in 1865 and 1872 and called *The Animal Creation; a Popular Introduction to Zoology* (**fig. 2d**). The figure of the thylacine, labelled "Zebra Wolf', now crouches on the sloping bank of a river, but some elements are very similar to Lizars' engraving. It replicates the defensive attitude of the original, but the lack of hair detail in this wood engraving, particularly noticeable in the absence of fine hairs on the nose, reduces the 'naturalism' and therefore the emotional effect of the former image. The brief text mentions that thylacines are "very few in number: some of them, however, are formidable for their strength and ferocity". While its size is compared to that of a dog rather than a wolf, the entry states that the thylacine is hated by settlers for its "depredations among the sheep on the plains" (Jones, *Animal Creation* 367-8). Generally in works such as this that appear in the latter part of the century there is a correspondence between image and text, in contrast to the confusion and rupture that I described in earlier zoological works. This concurrence intensifies the effect the image-text creates. The impact of Dickes' image and figures that are derived from it is difficult to measure, but the breadth of works they appear

[101] The effect of lithography on the messages generated by an image are dealt with in more detail in Figure 3.

in, their popular nature and numerous editions, as well as their existence in many libraries, suggests that they were exposed to a large audience. The messages they produce, in conjunction with all of the texts that accompany them, are unequivocal – the thylacine is a vicious carnivore, a useless creature that attacks sheep. It is vermin.

When the primary image discussed in this chapter was used in mass-produced media like newspapers, it attracted an even greater audience. In 1866 a copy of Lizars' engraving with the signature CFA appeared in the *Illustrated Sydney News* **(fig. 2e)**. The use of such a negative illustration in a newspaper at this time bridges the gap between the introduction of the first and second bounties 1830-38 and 1839-49 that were limited to Woolnorth, the pastoral property in the northwest of the island, and the third in 1888 when a number of images of this kind closely preceded the event (these are discussed in Figure 4). The thylacine was one of a series of Australian animals pictured on the same page of the newspaper, with the accompanying text a few pages away. The figure is reversed, indicating it is a copy of Dickes' image; the tail has been curled under the animal instead of behind it; and a new background encloses the hunched, snarling body. Illustrations were an important part of the newspaper's appeal, especially when they depicted animals that were rapidly disappearing from the Australian landscape. The text on page 14 notes that the "Emeu" was once abundant in the writer's neighbourhood, but that the last one "shot a few months ago near Long Bay, was probably a tame bird" (Anon., "Tasmanian Tiger" 12-14). The discourse of colonial power is evident in the casual way in which this information is disclosed and in the labelling of the illustration as "Tasmanian Tiger", a name that was common in Tasmania, Victoria and New South Wales in the middle of the century. It recalls the hunting, shooting and trapping practices that were an iconic part of the colonial experience in Australasia and the East. This 'tiger' is described as "this bloodthirsty animal" that "at some remote period" existed "not many hundred miles from Sydney, as has been proved from the number of teeth and bones found in the caves of Wellington Valley".[102] Its present habitat is described as the "rocks and impenetrable glens of the highest mountains" of Tasmania, where it creates "terror" among the flocks of the settlers. The combination of image and text reaches its most damaging in situations such as this, where sensational representations and mass circulation combine. In a frame such as this, the last line "the young produced is about four at a time", a fact very rarely included in descriptions of the thylacine in popular works, segues into the fear inspired by rats that multiply with considerable rapidity. The idea of being 'taken over' by hordes of vermin is implicit in this imagetext. The suggestion that the thylacine was an animal of this kind specifically

[102] See Figure 3 for a discussion of the Wellington Cave fossils and their contribution to the representation of the thylacine.

encourages an organised response such as the 1888 bounty in which the Tasmanian government sanctioned the extermination of the species through the payment of a reward.

Economic Zoology

The application of a bounty on the thylacine demonstrates an 'economy of value' – the thylacine is represented as an animal that has no value in relation to sheep that supply monetary rewards to imperial investors and settlers, and as a dangerous opponent of progress in the colony. But this 'reality' is *constructed* in various ways, for instance, as shown in this chapter, by distorting the form of the animal to fit the profile of animals traditionally represented as a threat to human endeavour. This construction occurs again at the end of the nineteenth century when books about 'economic zoology', in which the value of animals is systematically rated, began to appear and the third bounty was imposed. The *First Report on Economic Zoology*, issued by British Museum in 1903, classified animals in various groups according to their "economic relation" to humans. For instance, those in Group A are animals captured or slaughtered for food; in Group B are those bred or cultivated; in Group C are animals that directly promote "man's operations as a civilised being" without being killed, captured or trained by him (this includes scavengers such as vultures and earthworms); in Group D are animals which cause bodily injury, such has lions, wolves and mosquitoes; in Group E are those which cause injury to stock or agriculture; in Group F are those destructive to man's art and industry; and in Group G are those known as 'beneficials' on account that they check those in Groups D, E, and F. The work avoids mentioning the conservation of animals in *any* of the groups, but mentions spiders, hover-flies that feed on aphids, carnivorous ground beetles, some fish, all insectivorous birds and mammals such as skunk, hedgehogs, shrews and foxes because they are parasitic on the pests of crops, animals and man as beneficial beings and refers those interested in animal conservation to botanists (Theobald xi-xxxiv). Viewed through the prism of commerce, it is clear that many animals native to Australia were deemed a threat that it was necessary to control if progress was to be made.

At the close of the First World War it is apparent that other factors influenced the role that animals were perceived to play in relation to humans. A work published in 1919 includes a chapter on the "moral aspects of zoology", in which the study of Zoology was perceived as innocent of the "savagery" and "destructiveness" that was present in "modern warfare". Soon, medicine was added to the list of areas that would benefit from the scientific study of animals (Kellog and Doane 1-2; Dendy v-vii, 26). Then, in 1925, a small photographic reproduction of the image from *The Naturalist's Library* (fig. 2) took central place in an

article called "Man, Ape and Tiger" by W.P. Pyecraft in a section headed "The World of Science" in the *Illustrated London News*. Beneath the picture is the caption "One of the Australasian animals whose preservation is necessary to Medical Science: the Thylacine, or 'Tasmanian Tiger,' now almost extinct." Pyecraft refers to the "Evolution Theory" and the "despised 'beasts that perish'" and speaks of the "atrocities" committed as a result of the human "lust for life". He discusses Economic Zoology, the study of which, he says, is still in its infancy.[103] Pointing to the human obsession with "usefulness," he sees the only hope of saving species from extinction is to show "that they can be put to some *use*" and refers to an essay by Colin Mackenzie on the medical importance of the native animals of Australia (Pyecraft 998).

In Mackenzie's essay, published in the *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania* in 1925, the then director of the recently founded National Museum of Australian Zoology (later the Institute of Anatomy) points out that many Australian animals that were common twenty years ago are "becoming increasingly rare". He urges the preservation of species such as the platypus and thylacine for *what they might offer for the study of human diseases*, specifically mentioning the thylacine in relation to a simplified intestinal tract with a "well-defined vagal nerve" that could be important in consideration of the 'lock' system of the human alimentary canal (MacKenzie, "P&P Roy. Soc. Tas." 206). This appeal to potential value, combined with the benefit to knowledge of the human body, makes a powerful statement for preservation. Pyecraft, however, pleads for "the study of natural history for its *own* sake, the study of science for its own sake ... to understand what we mean by 'the Balance of Nature' and the motives which lie behind our actions" (998, my italics). Given the radical ideas expressed by Pyecraft, it is ironic that this particular image was used to illustrate the essay. On the other hand, it indicates the fear engendered in an animal threatened by human "lust" and encapsulates how a change in perceptions of the thylacine can alter the reading of an image. In using Dickes' visualisation of the thylacine to illustrate the article it also shows how irrelevant images were considered to be in relation to text, or how indiscriminate the choices are where images are concerned. Appearing in 1925, Pyecraft's article also indicates how far thinking about animals had to progress before this utterance to preserve species would be made.

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[103] Among the papers of the Royal Society of Tasmania is an essay by Clive Lord entitled "The Economic Importance of the Tasmanian Fauna". Lord was secretary of the Society in 1927 when it adopted an emblem featuring the thylacine on a map of Tasmania. Lord's efforts to preserve the thylacine will be discussed in conversions.

Summary

In Van Diemen's Land, the systematic persecution of the thylacine continued, and the idea of a 'dangerous sheep-killing predator' was further constructed in zoological literature in following years. Figure 2, in which the fears of explorers and settlers were distilled into an image of economic concern and then a motivation for organised extermination, is crucial to the story of the thylacine's extinction. As the appearance of this figure coincided with improvements in technology that enabled the mass production of images and texts, it constitutes a potent force in the spread of ideas that were detrimental to the animal's survival. Tracing the movement of ideas is difficult and beyond the scope of this study, but the ease of developing destructive practices can be observed in the enthusiasm with which bounties were instigated and pursued. The success of one bounty, however, had unforseen circumstances and was soon abandoned. Lady Franklin, the wife of Tasmania's governor from 1837-1843, expressed her "intense repugnance" for snakes by requesting a colonial official, Captain Moriarty, to undertake a scheme in which a shilling was paid for each dead snake brought to a police station (Fitzpatrick 41). Jane Franklin believed snakes were "one of the greatest (physical) evils" in the colony and should therefore be "pursued to extermination". Fortunately, after £600 was paid out in one season and convicts routinely abandoned their labours to kill snakes, she revoked the bounty (Franklin 24/8/1838). Natural history works, and the magazines and newspapers that copied the images found in them, were major sites of visual interpretations of feelings that Jane Franklin and others held about many animals in European colonies. This second major figure of the thylacine, widely circulated in a major work with scientific associations, as well as many other zoological works until after the devastating government bounty scheme came into operation in 1888, had the potential to radically encourage and reinforce negative perceptions of the animal and is an important indictment of the discourse of science in furthering the extermination of the species.

The images discussed in the following chapter were made with new models – the first live thylacines to reach Britain in 1850 – but this did not necessarily mean that illustrations were objective, sympathetic or accurate. However, they reveal much about the practice of 'figuring' animals, the persistence and strength of imperial discourses, and the popularity of some works and the images they contain.

FIGURE 3

THE EXOTIC THYLACINE 1850-1924

The primary images of the thylacine discussed in this chapter were constructed using completely different models of the thylacine to those that had existed in Europe before and, hence, different sets of expectations attend readings of them. These images are the first since Harris's drawing that were modelled on a living animal; they were made in Britain and copied in Australia. As such, they contrast with those discussed in transformations and Figure 2, which were made with recourse only to specimens, second-hand reports, previous illustrations or were produced by artists completely unfamiliar with the habitat of the thylacine. Because of the species' novelty value, the excitement that accompanied their arrival in London and the interest of writers and artists, some of the illustrations discussed in this chapter are invested with particularly obvious signifiers of colonialism – references to the exotic, the savage and the strange. Only a few have the potential to generate a kinder attitude toward the species and these are among the most appealing and sensitive examined in this thesis. The images executed in Australia contain a mixture of local references and associations with what was regarded as 'foreign' and dangerous.

The works in which many of the illustrations appear are among the most prestigious and/or familiar published in the nineteenth century, with the major image being one of the most widely used representations of the thylacine. It is still circulating in various forms in the twenty-first century. Responses to the representations were, and still are, influenced by the belief that they are accurate because they were modelled on living animals, by the status and popularity of the works in which they appear, and by the seductive nature of the new medium of lithography used for many of them. In combination with the cultural and economic factors operating in Europe and Tasmania mentioned in previous chapters and the emergence of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution that will be discussed in Figure 4, these images are even more powerful in their potential to generate negative responses to the thylacine than those previously appearing in zoological works. Those that were sympathetic to the thylacine did possess a capacity to encourage concern for the preservation of the species, however, they were published in works that were apparently rare in Australia.

The Thylacine comes to Britain

The illustrations of the thylacine in John Gould's elaborate work *The Mammals of Australia* first appeared in 1851 in part III of a 13-part edition of the work produced over eighteen years (**fig. 3**). The image of a *pair* of thylacines is the first and one of few positive

suggestions in a natural history work about the future of the species.[104] However, the male and female in the images were modelled from the first of many thylacines confined in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London that did *not* reproduce in captivity, despite the belief of Ronald Gunn that those he sent from Launceston would "very probably breed" (Gould, *Mammals, 1851* np).[105] In a letter to the secretary of the Society, D.W. Mitchell, published in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society* 1850, Gunn says that after six months "in confinement" in Tasmania the female of this pair had "become sufficiently tame to permit its head to be scratched". However, immediately before the letter in the *Proceedings* the thylacine is defined as "one of the rarest and most difficult forms ... of Marsupials" (Gunn, "Letter to the Secretary" 90). The 'difficulty' probably refers to the species' reputed sheep-killing, so this comment would have generated curiosity and excitement regarding the arrival of live examples of the species in London, and in his text Gould mentions the great interest the animals attracted at the Zoo in Regent's Park. Mitchell had introduced a system referred to as "starring", where there was always at least one new interesting animal exhibit on display. Ritvo writes that this practice included press coverage with animals presented "for their scientific or political significance, as evidence of British ability to subdue exotic territories and convert their products to useful purposes" (*Animal Estate* 217).

The lithographs of the thylacine by H.C Richter, one of Gould's employees, are considered the most proportionally accurate representations of the species yet presented and the figures seem sympathetically inscribed and aesthetically pleasing – idealised images in common with the other illustrations in Gould's book. The full, black eyes give the foremost animal of the pair a soft, deer-like expression but, in the second figure and in the large head-view opposite the first page of text, their almond shape is accentuated and surrounded by a very much lighter wash and darker shaded lines that focus attention on the eye. Together with the large-leafed plant positioned in the highly visible space below the chin of the head study and between the head and feet of the foremost thylacine of the pair, these elements would have rendered the image exotic, mysterious and savage to a nineteenth century audience. Such a reading is contained in a book called *Excelsior: Helps to Progress in Religion, Science and Literature* published in 1855, where the text mentions Gould's "great work" and notes that the head of the male is shown "in such a point of view as to exhibit the applicability of one of the names applied to it by the colonists, that of "zebra-wolf" (Anon., *Excelsior* 247). As

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[104] In fact, neither of the animals pictured lived very long. The male of the pair used as a model for Richter's 1851 illustration died in 1853 and the female in 1857 (Moeller 158).

[105] On January 7 1885, a Launceston newspaper, the *Examiner*, reported the safe arrival of another pair of thylacines for the London Zoo. Professor W.H. Flower is quoted as saying "they are a very handsome pair, and very tame ... if we could get them to breed it would be a grand thing": (reprint, Anon. *Museum* 7). Moeller records pairs also arriving in 1886, 1888 and 1891 (158). None of them bred.

Excelsior later attributes this naming only to the thylacine's "black stripes" and none are visible in the image, the "applicability" must be not only to the exoticism of the zebra, but also to the 'wolf' part of the name. The entry in *Excelsior*, then, is an important contemporary reading of the image in Gould's work.[106]

Other aspects of the illustration also generate a reading of mystery or difference. In Part III of the original edition of *The Mammals of Australia* (1851) plants with large leaves (not merely shapes unfamiliar to a European audience, but leaves that are relatively *over*sized, connoting excess in the form of an extreme climate or landscape) occur without fail in pictures of animals found chiefly in Tasmania.[107] In illustrations of animals common in other parts of Australia, small leafed wattles, eucalypt leaves and seedpods fill the space beside or behind the figures. When the background of the pictures is considered, the way Tasmanian animals are represented in Gould's work inclines toward what Edward Said refers to as 'orientalism'. In the case of the thylacine, certain features are also included, accentuated or superimposed on the form of the animal (as well as the picture as a whole) so that it operates intertextually with countless other constructions that served to define anything in the vicinity of the East as depraved and other – "a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange" (Said 195-7). On examination of the drawing that preceded the lithograph it seems that this association has been made in the process of transferring the image of the thylacine to lithographic stone where, Bernard Smith says, a drawing was often transformed to conform to "the canons of taste" operating in Europe at various times in the nineteenth century (*Imagining the Pacific* 173-9).

In the preparatory drawing in pencil and watercolour (**fig. 3(i)**) and the pattern plates for the printed lithograph (**fig. 3(ii)**), all apparently by Richter, the changes made in the conversion from paper to stone are clearly apparent. The drawing is a softer, less extreme version of the figures in the pattern plates and lithographs: both figures have a benign appearance, the second figure only dimly delineated and the plant I mentioned earlier is barely discernible. The only hint of ambiguity is the inscription "Tasmanian Wolf - from a female" on the lower

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[106] See Figure 4 for a discussion of other aspects of the text in *Excelsior* and other ways in which the thylacine is constructed as 'savage'. More recently, Eric Guiler suggests a similar reading of the male head when he says that the eyes exhibit "a somewhat mysterious cruelty" (97).

[107] I sought the advice of Professor Jamie Kirkpatrick, plant ecologist at the School of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Tasmania, in assessing the accuracy and geographic distribution of plants in the background of pictures of animals mentioned as indigenous to particular states of Australia. He could not positively identify *any* of the large leafed plants in the pictures of Tasmanian animals; they certainly do not occur in Tasmania. However, the large leaves in the picture of the thylacine and other Tasmanian animals vaguely resemble the tropical solamun, South American geum and an Asian plant, *Nandina domestica* – plants from 'exotic', oriental, or tropical locations. Some of the smaller leaves included in these and illustrations of animals in other states resemble eucalypt leaves; some are similar to banksia or melaleuca, but only the tree fern and flax lily in the background of the illustration of the Tasmanian devil are anywhere near accurately depicted.

right hand corner – also indicating that the second figure has been adapted from impressions of the female animal only. In the lithograph, however, the eyes of both figures have been outlined and accentuated and, particularly in the head study of the male and the second animal of the pair, have been given an upward tilt at the outer edge. This difference is significant, as the second figure and the 'head of a male' may merely be an imaginative visualisation of the female, rather than a careful drawing from the living model. Oliver Goldsmith's *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, of which there were twenty editions between 1774 and 1876 (Pitman 9), contends that "the feature that principally distinguishes the visage of the wolf from that of the dog, is the eye, which opens slantingly upwards ... whereas in the dog, it opens more at right angles with the nose, as in man" (*History of the Earth, 1834* 253). The shape of the eyes in the lithograph in Gould's work, then, would have been instantly recognised as connoting savagery in its association with the wolf and decidedly other in relation to both domesticated animals, like the dog, and to "man" – in particular, Western man.[108]

The appearance of other body parts is also transformed in the lithograph. For instance, the nose and ears are emphasised and refined so that the figures' heads appear small and delicate in comparison with their bodies; their legs are shortened, the torso appears thicker, and fur and muscle detail has diminished. Even the stripes have been reduced and they have been applied as precisely graduated dark lines, rather than appearing as if they are the uneven result of the animals' contrasting hair colouring. The quality that was most admired in a zoological illustration in the nineteenth century is apparent in an issue of *Piccadilly Notes*, "an occasional publication devoted to Books, Engravings and Autographs", on Gould's works. The writer states, "in this work the animals themselves are not only figured, but Portraits of them from life are delineated of which we cannot but notice one of Landseerian vigour – the physiognomy of the Tasmania Wolf" (Stonehouse 120).[109] Some of the elements in the illustration are also the result of Richter's lithographic style, which Allan McEvey defines as "a smooth finish", displaying precise, meticulous detail (15-6). This 'style' is made possible by the innate properties of lithography as opposed to engraving. Descriptions of the technique use terms such as "smudging", refer to the way the chalk "slips on the polished stone", describe "finely toned lines," "stroking" and "brushing"; terms that are quite different from those associated with the process of engraving (Gascoigne 19-20).

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[108] The significance of associating thylacines with the wolf is dealt with in Figure 4.

[109] Edwin Landseer was a nineteenth-century animal painter of somewhat sentimental pictures that convey what Martin Kemp terms "portentous messages" that rely for their impact on "our romantically tuned sensibility to mountain scenery" ("Taking It on Trust" 136). Weisberg detects violence and destruction in his paintings, of a kind he associates with the artist's serious mental problems, isolation and alcoholism (122-4).

Lithography is a deceptive medium, mimicking painting and drawing in its soft, muted lines and subtly shaded planes and, in this case, its use results in a misleadingly innocent image. The picture in Gould's lavish book yearns to be admired for the elegance of its figures, the neatness of their forms, and the competence of its production. But in both the drawing and the print, although the vegetation in the background replaces the wire of the cage at the Zoological Gardens, the thylacines' gaze is directed toward something outside the frame of the enclosure/picture. In the stance of the foremost thylacine there remains an indelible trace of the two animals that arrived at Regent's Park Zoo in 1850 after the long sea journey from Launceston – the questing eyes and nose are focused beyond the invisible bars. These animals are looking at humans looking, they are identifying human animals, they are wondering if humans are a threat. In his essay "Why Look at Animals?" John Berger writes "the fact that [animals] can observe us has lost all significance. They are the objects of our ever-extending knowledge" (14). But if the idea of an animal gaze is absorbed, the observer's sight-line changes and the picture looks different. The figures are not impassive objects of various human gazes; they are looking back and demanding an answer.[110]

According to the *Guide to the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London* 1853, the new thylacine acquisitions were housed in the "Terrace Cages" in the centre of the Zoo (Moeller 139), devoted to the popular Order *Carnivora* and accessed via a Terrace Walk from the north entrance down steps to the cavern-like cages built, symbolically, beneath it.[111] But by 1869 the thylacine's popularity had faded, as evidenced by its demotion to the "sheds" near other marsupials in the far northern corner of the Gardens. Their new location was adjacent to "an example of a very scarce and curious carnivore, the Aard Wolf of Southern Africa (*Proteles lalandii*), which has been placed by some authors with the Hyenas, by others with the dog" (as was the thylacine) (Sclater, *Guide 1869* 48). The situation of the models for illustrations in natural history publications, whether dead specimens or animals in zoos, inevitably appears in the finished work and generates motifs of abjection and confinement unless an artist makes concerted efforts to avoid them. In the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* 1855 the results of a dissection performed on the male thylacine, which died in 1853, were reported: the animal was "excessively fat; the fat on its abdomen and other parts weighing probably four or five pounds". So, the particularly stocky shape of the figures in this picture and those in another lithograph by Joseph Wolf (discussed below)

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[110] Compare Richter's pair with fig 6e, the photograph of a pair of thylacines looking through the wire of their cage in Beaumaris Zoo Hobart, circa 1930.

[111] The Terrace Walk with cave-like dens beneath recalls the hunter's foot proudly placed on the carcass of the lion in Imperial Indian and African safari pictures. Ritvo points out how the elevated terrace also manifested official Zoological Society policy that targeted the scientific and social elites, until economic considerations in 1846 forced the society to accept Mitchell's advice to open the Zoo to anyone who could pay the admission fee (*Animal Estate* 212-4).

probably relate to the diet they were subjected to in captivity and, perhaps, to their deaths – although the writer of the article says "the cause of death was unapparent" (Crisp 188).[112] Ironically, the entry for the kangaroo in the *Guide* mentions Gould's assertion of the excellence of kangaroo "venison", the thylacine's preferred food in the wild, as meat for the [human] table.[113] The entry ends with the observation that "young ones may be seen at any moment peering out of their comfortable quarters in the maternal pouch" (Sclater, *Guide 1869* 48). The contrast between the "quarters" of the young kangaroos and the cramped sheds in which the thylacines slept, ate and exercised could scarcely have been drawn more effectively.

The *Guide to the Gardens* refers to "Mr. Gould's very beautiful work", a common perception of Gould's publications and the images they contain. As a result, the lithographs of the thylacine are associated more often with Gould, than with Richter or the examples of the species in London Zoo.[114] They are just two of many images in *The Mammals of Australia*, a fragment of what has been constructed as the vast monument to Gould's name that elicits the snobbery of antiquarian bibliophiles. Critical access to the imagetext seems to have been obstructed by perceptions of the author as 'distinguished'; that is, his enormous output and initial recording of so many bird and animal species appears to have resulted in a resistance to rigorous analysis of the content of his works.[115] Once Gould's reputation is disregarded we can ask the questions Foucault suggests in his essay "What is an author?", some of which I am attempting to discuss in this thesis: "What are the modes of existence of this discourse? Where has it been used, how can it circulate, and who can appropriate it for himself? What are the places in it where there is room for possible subjects? Who [or what] can assume these various subject functions?" ("What Is an Author?" 275).

The large, meticulously prepared and executed images in *The Mammals of Australia* are considered the most important element in this and other works by Gould and the text is

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[112] Andrew Kitchener's researches on images of the dodo show that most depict a fat bird, but a few show a thin biped. He concludes that illustrations originally made in Mauritius and estimates of the body mass of the species from skeletal material indicate that the dodo was a relatively lean bird. Images of an obese dodo were probably based on captive birds in Europe "which had become extremely fat owing to an unrestricted and unsuitable diet". The image of an obese bird remains the accepted construction of the dodo (Kitchener 297).

[113] The kangaroo was suggested as an ideal subject for "acclimatisation in an English Park". The influence of economic zoology is exhibited in the justifying statement that therefore "the introduction of these animals would be something more than a mere Zoological luxury" (Sclater, *Guide to the Gardens* 49).

[114] Discussion of the lithographs in Gould's work in Allan McEvey's monograph *John Gould's Contribution to British Art* concentrates on the 'authenticity' and 'originality' of the images and justifies the association of the illustrations with Gould, rather than Richter. McEvey concludes that Richter, and other lithographers working for Gould, fail to show a "distinction" in their work when it is compared to Gould's rough drawings. Gould is seen as the driving force responsible for the production of the lithographic art. Biographers have concurred, often on the basis of an emphatic statement in the diary of Gould's daughter: "*everything* was overlooked by father" quoted in (quoted in McEvey 6).

[115] Some biographies, however, include implied criticisms of his methods, attitudes and character, for example Ann Datta's *John Gould in Australia: Letters and Drawings* (1997) and Isabella Tree *The Ruling Passion of John Gould* (1991).

designed to explain and support the pictures; however, both image and text have often been reproduced independently, or used to illuminate new texts. Viewed in isolation, some aspects of the figures may have little significance, but when considered in their original framing and in relation to the rhetorical constructions that initially accompanied them, certain connotations are activated. In volume one of the 3-volume 1863 edition of the work, the "Head, of the size of life" is identified as male and appears first, with a short text on the opposite page. This text, not present in the 13-part original edition of the work that was issued between 1845 and 1863,[116] includes the often-quoted sentence that is usually interpreted as a canny prediction, but in relation to the particularly menacing head study, the text as a whole, and mid-nineteenth century attitudes toward predators, it seems more like a proclamation of death:

> When the comparatively small island of Tasmania becomes more densely populated ... the numbers of this singular animal will speedily diminish, extermination will have its full sway, and it will then, like the Wolf in England and Scotland, be recorded as an animal of the past: though this will be the source of much regret, neither the shepherd nor the farmer can be blamed for wishing to rid the island of so troublesome a creature. A price is already upon the head of the native Tiger, as it is called ... (Gould, *Mammals, 1863* 53).

Most sources that quote this passage omit the clauses beginning "though this will be the source of much regret" and so do not include the implication that the actions of the shepherd and the farmer are justified, the acceptance of the bounty already imposed by pastoral companies, and ignore the unequivocal nature of the declaration that the thylacine "will then ... be recorded as an animal of the past". What Gould's text is actually stating is that the thylacine's extinction is *inevitable*. On the other hand, in the entry for the Great Red Kangaroo in volume II of *The Mammals of Australia*, the text advises that official moves be made to protect some Australian animals:

> Let me then urge [the Anglo-Australians] to bestir themselves ... to establish laws for the preservation of the large Kangaroos, the Emu, and other *conspicuous* indigenous animals: with out such protection, the remnant that is left will soon disappear, to be followed by unavailing regret for the apathy with which they had been previously regarded (Gould, *Mammals, 1863* 6, my italics).[117]

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[116] Three animals are given additional texts at the beginning of their entries in the 1863 edition - the koala, because it was predicted to become extinct "like too many larger Australian mammals" and the wombat, because "opinions expressed in years gone by now require modification" (two sub-species are mentioned).

[117] However, Ann Datta points out that although Gould was aware of the destruction of birds for the use of their feathers in the costume and millinery industry in the nineteenth century, he did not get involved. And although he disapproved of the introduction of salmon to Tasmanian waters in private letters to Morton Allport, he did not make his views public. See Datta pages 233-5.

The use of the word "conspicuous" relates to an earlier remark that it is the "larger and more conspicuous productions of an island that are often, as a natural consequence, the first that become extirpated; and this result often takes place more speedily where no protection is afforded to them". Gould then specifically mentions the need to protect "highly singular, in many instances noble" indigenous animals and deplores the introduction of animals from "other climes, whose forms and nature are not adapted to that country". However, in the entry for the grey kangaroo he promotes the "naturalisation" of kangaroos into Britain, hoping to see "our large parks and forests graced with the presence of this highly ornamental and singular animal" (Gould, *Mammals, 1863* 2) and includes long passages in entries for both the grey and red kangaroos on the hunting practices of settlers in Van Diemen's Land without a word of censure. Gould's concern, then, is selective and the plea for preservation of the red kangaroo is an example of the position and value given only to certain animals. In the case of both the unique thylacine and the singular red kangaroo, "regret" is expressed in relation to their possible demise, but the disappearance of one is inevitable because of stories of the 'trouble' it causes to shepherds and farmers, while the other is worthy of protection. Politically, the case of the thylacine was complex, in contrast to the red kangaroo whose scarcity was the result of a vague "wanton manner in which it is unrelentingly killed" and the fact that "the kind of country that it frequents [is] of the utmost value to the pastoral community" that uses it to "depasture immense flocks and herds". Because the kangaroo competed with sheep indirectly, disapproval is indirect, confrontation is avoided and preservation by the "enlightened Governor and Assembly of New South Wales" is the focus of appeal (Gould, *Mammals, 1863* 6). The koala is also the subject of Gould's concern and like the red kangaroo avoided extinction, at that time perhaps because of requests such as those Gould publicised in this work. It is obvious from his comments about the thylacine that he did not make the same pleas for that species because of its reputation as a sheep-killer. This view is forcibly presented in visual and verbal representations in zoological works by mid-nineteenth century, as well as in reports from settlers of the kind recorded in journals and handbooks, in newspapers[118] and probably by Gould's friends in the colony. Gould failed to question or confront 'extermination' as an answer to the problem the thylacine was perceived to pose for the sheep industry.

Soon after, however, others such as George Bennett in *Gatherings of a Naturalist in Australasia* deplored "the war of extermination recklessly waged" against Australian fauna in general by the colonists (Bennett vi). Books such as *Man and Nature* (1864) by American

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[118] The blunt remarks in the "Tasmania Museum" column in the *Mercury* newspaper in 1910 exemplify this view and indicate the way it persisted, was considered a 'truth', and became entrenched. It states: "no plea can be urged for its protection or preservation, as it extremely destructive to sheep" (np).

George Perkins Marsh also appeared, explaining to settlers the consequences of subverting the balance of nature with indiscriminate forest clearing, the introduction of pests and diseases and the extermination of animals in the lands they farmed. Marsh does not dwell on the extinction of animal species and indeed refers to "brute destroyers, beasts and birds and insects of prey"; but he does point out that civilised or "stationary life" destroys the "balance which nature has established between her organised and her inorganic creations" (Lowenthal 36-40). This "balance" is interpreted in ambiguous terms when he discusses predators: "when hunters pursue the wolf, the graminivorous [herbivorous] wild quadrupeds increase, and thus in turn promote the multiplication of their great four-footed destroyer by augmenting the supply of his nourishment" (Lowenthal 76-7). This explanation is put in terms that support the idea of large carnivores as 'destructive' and the idea of limiting their numbers is an unfortunate reinforcement of existing attitudes. Lowenthal, editor of a later edition of the work, maintains that Europeans "rapidly adopted Marsh's ideas" and that his book was rediscovered in the 1930s (xxi-xxiii). But even if its message was to be read in a way that benefited the thylacine, the existence of the first edition in Tasmania is not reflected in current collections and, although the second edition *is* present (consistent with increasing interest in and moves for the conservation of animals species at the time)[119] it would have been too late for the thylacine.

The assumption about the fate of the thylacine expressed in Gould's work is compounded by an additional statement at the end of the preamble to the entry in the 1863 edition of *The Mammals of Australia*, which defers concern about the animal's disappearance. The comment "the fastnesses of the Tasmanian rocky gullies, clothed with impenetrable forests, will for the present, preserve it from destruction" is another rarely quoted in relation to Gould's attitude toward the thylacine (Gould, *Mammals, 1863* 53). The idea is also embedded in the main text in both Part III of the thirteen-part edition of the work published in 1851[120] and the three-volume edition of 1863, where it is stated:

> on the other hand, so much of Tasmania still remains in a state of nature, and so much of its forest land still uncleared, that an abundance of covert still remains in which the animal is secure from the attacks of man; many years must therefore elapse before it can become entirely extinct ... (Gould, *Mammals, 1851* np.; Gould, *Mammals, 1863* 54).

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[119] See my discussion in conversions of this change of attitude beginning in the 1920s.

[120] The Royal Society Library holds only the first four parts of the thirteen-part original edition of this work. The illustrations of the thylacine and the Tasmanian devil in Part III have been removed. A pencilled note in the front of the book says "certain plates from this spare number placed on loan to Tas Museum 1924 Mounted & on exhibition in 1925". The plates were probably used to illustrate a series of "lecturettes" on 4th December at a dinner held by the Royal Society to celebrate the centenary of the State's separation from New South Wales. A talk by Clive Lord centred on the years 1836-43 when Gould was in Tasmania (Reynolds 244; Royal Society *Council Minutes* 27/11/24).

The effect of this passage, particularly the indecisive and relative nature of the term "many more years", would have been to minimise concern about the animal and it exemplifies the complacency that often surrounded the issue of the species' vulnerability. Some texts, closer to Tasmania, were less optimistic about the time it would take for the thylacine to become extinct. For example, in John West's *The History of Tasmania* (1852) the following statement occurs: "it is very probable that in a *very few years* this animal, so highly interesting to the zoologist, will become extinct; it is now extremely rare, even in the wildest and least frequented parts of the island" (323, my italics). In 1855 in *Melbourne Monthly Magazine* the thylacine was considered "fast verging on extinction" ('Cambrian' 360) and a report in the *Mercury* newspaper in 1858 referred to "these nearly obsolete animals" (Anon., "nearly obsolete"). *The Guide to the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London* 1869, on the other hand, pronounced "as [the thylacine] ... inhabits the most inaccessible haunts, [it] will still defy its enemies for *many a long year*" (Sclater, *Guide* 49, my italics).

Elsewhere, Gould's work adheres to current attitudes toward Australian animals and demonstrates the strength and persistence of negative perceptions of the thylacine. In the Introduction to the three-volume edition first published in 1863[121] the text notes the desire for the name 'Tasmania' to replace 'Van Diemen's Land' and refers to marsupials (as prevailing scientific opinion dictated) as less highly organised mammals with deficient brains because their embryonic lives were carried out externally.[122] They are, it is maintained, "a very low form of life" (Gould, *Introduction* 3-4) and later it is stated that the Thylacinus of Tasmania's forest-clad country is "the most bloodthirsty of the Australian mammals – the Wolf of the Marsupials". The text includes a passage about sheep killing and the statement "to man, however, it is not an object of alarm; for the shepherd, aided by his dog and stick in hand, does not for a moment hesitate about attacking and killing it". And then – "Van Diemen's Land is the true and only home of this somewhat formidable beast" (*Introduction* 16). Here, Gould subtly affirms the gothic and oriental associations of the thylacine: he notes that it is inferior, a wolf in the forest, that Van Diemen's Land is its "true" home (retaining its old, demon-like name) and he supports its extermination – when the thylacine is killed, the island's inhabitants will be safe. Image and text now correspond perfectly; contradictory implications exist in both; on the surface they are smooth and adept representations that interweave the strange and familiar, but they have barely hidden

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[121] This introduction was also issued separately as a companion to the thirteen-part edition.

[122] This attitude is also apparent in the twentieth century. For example, in the entry for the thylacine in *Wild Life of the World* published in 1915 Lydekker refers to marsupials as animals of "low and primitive type", states there is "reason to believe" that the thylacine's tail indicates "direct inheritance from reptilian ancestors" and that the thylacine represents the "more primitive type of marsupial life". The text stresses the "exceedingly imperfect" state of development of newly born marsupials that he later calls "little abortions" that resemble young rats (216-8).

suggestions that encouraged the animal's destruction. In subsequent commentaries and biographies the selection of certain passages from Gould's work and the disregarding of others has contributed to the construction of an aesthetic boundary around his work. Like others works of the time, *The Mammals of Australia* subscribed and contributed to the discourse of the 'evil predator that needs to be obliterated', but while its negative suppositions are rarely mentioned now, Gould's imagetext may have been read with much more care, interest and understanding at the time of its publication.

While much is to be gained by disregarding the status of the author, some personal details and circumstances relating to the production and dissemination of *The Mammals of Australia* are particularly relevant to this discussion. It was a large, lavishly illustrated publication that was expensive to produce, so the original thirteen parts were published over seventeen years and sold by subscription. Previously a taxidermist, Gould had undertaken a number of expeditions to the colonies, collecting specimens, skins and subscribers. His wife Elizabeth accompanied him to Australia, contributing sketches for some of the lithographs in his books. In his eleven months in Van Diemen's Land during 1838-9 he collected more than five hundred birds, including the now endangered Forty-spotted Pardalote and Swift Parrot, sixty nests with eggs and three nine-gallon kegs of specimens in spirits for his spectacular book *The Birds of Australia* (Datta 114, 120). It seems that while in Van Diemen's Land Gould also became interested in collecting for *Mammals,* eventually describing forty-five new species (Datta 121, 147).[123] Among his friends in the colony were Sir John Franklin and the Reverend Thomas Ewing and letters from the latter, and others, indicate that Ewing handled subscriptions and collected money for Gould's publications, including *The Mammals of Australia.*[124] The names of subscribers were listed in the front of the 1863 edition and Tasmanian subscribers include the Royal Society of Tasmania, Morton Allport, Christ's College at Bishopsbourne and naturalist and farmer R.C. Gunn. According to Ann Datta, in return for Ewing's assistance in collecting subscriptions and other favours, Gould supplied him with books for the public libraries in Van Diemen's Land (139). Gould was "essentially a practical business man" (McEvey 14) who, through clever production and marketing, made sure his lithographic images dominated natural history illustration in the second half of the century. In 1866 Gould had 146 subscribers for the three-volume edition of *The Mammals of Australia* which cost £41 (Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* 71), so the potential influence of his publications, as well as his choice of books for the libraries of Van Diemen's Land, was considerable. In turn, the perceived pressure to conform to attitudes toward the

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[123]In a biography of Gould, Isabella Tree writes "skins and skeletons of mammals ... join[ed] the piles of feathered carcases already stacked away as part of Gould's mammoth collection" (*Ruling Passion* 121).

[124] In a letter to the Zoological Society of London in 1839 Gould makes special mention of Sir John Franklin's "unremitting kindness" to him while in Tasmania ("Letter" 141).

thylacine held by his subscribers and friends who had power in the colony may have affected the shape and tone of the imagetext largely written and designed by Gould,[125] and dictated his silence on conservation issues. To the present day, the prestige, popularity, and endurance of Gould's work have ensured that his visualisation of the thylacine has remained visible and influential in many copies and derivations, some of which will be mentioned later in this chapter.

Alternate Images

Other lithographs of the pair of thylacines received by the Zoological Society of London in 1850 projected and encouraged very different attitudes to the thylacine, but they had either limited publication or circulation, so they have rarely been reproduced and are unfamiliar today. Two of these were produced by Joseph Wolf, one of the most admired and prolific natural history illustrators of the nineteenth century, who trained as a lithographer in Germany and worked with ornithologists before arriving in England in 1848. Wolf was invited to London by the secretary of the London Zoological Society, D.W. Mitchell, who believed he was "the best available talent in Europe" (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 96). Soon Wolf became official artist for the Society, recording new arrivals at the zoo in 282 illustrations for the Society's *Proceedings* between 1850 and 1865. He also worked for Gould on occasions, but remained a freelance artist for most of his long career, producing wildlife illustrations for scientific and natural history works, poetry books, educational material and hunting manuals published in Britain and the Continent (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 153; Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* 96-7).[126] The lithograph of the thylacine is positioned opposite Gunn's letter about the history and habits of the two animals he sent to Van Diemen's Land in the 1850 issue of *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*; it would therefore appear to be an impression of the same pair pictured in Gould's work (**fig. 3a**). The soft colours of Wolf's image, however, warmed by base yellow/gold ink, are designed to draw the viewer toward the figures, and other devices derived from fine art and landscape painting are used to involve the onlooker in the life of the animal, rather than merely 'illustrate' its physical features. This image is also unusual, particularly for a

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[125]Although Richter is cited as the delineator of the pencil and watercolour sketch and the lithograph of the thylacines, McEvey points out that there were often several sketches for a particular plate "in various stages of completion, in various styles, and by various hands" and "at times more than one hand may be represented in a drawing" (14). From this and evidence from other sources, it seems safe to assume that Gould determined how the thylacine was represented.

[126] Palmer states that most of these were "auto-lithographs", that is, Wolf was responsible for both original drawing and lithograph (*Joseph Wolf* 95-6). Many other illustrations attributed to Wolf, however, were designed by him, but lithographed by someone else, as mentioned in Schulze-Hagen and Geus's book *Joseph Wolf: Animal Painter*, a publication that contains detailed information about the artist and his work, produced in conjunction with an exhibition that toured European museums in 2000/01.

scientific journal, in that one of the pair is gazing directly at the viewer. This engagement with the beholder is unique in nineteenth-century images of the thylacine and draws attention to the vulnerability of the animal model, encouraging empathy with the animal's situation.[127] The eyes of the female incorporate the spectator into the visual field. She is lying down; the artist appears to have sketched for so long (with a glance that goes back and forth, studying the thylacines and then his drawing of them) that she has relaxed, but still she must watch him. She is trapped by both the bars of the cage and the look of the man who is representing her. This pair is shown in typical gender positions: by his vigilant and protective attitude the standing animal is coded male, while the passive, wide-eyed figure lying at his feet is implicitly female. The positions of the animals encourage the viewer to imagine they have been surprised in their natural habitat, caught in a typical social moment mimicking the habits of humans – the picture wants to absorb the human viewer into the warm, family scene.

Wolf is credited with initiating a change in wildlife illustration, introducing the techniques of landscape art into illustrative work and revealing the 'truth' of nature, based on long observation of living animals (Schulze-Hagen and Geus passim; Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* passim).[128] Some of the elements for which he is famous are exemplified in this image of the thylacine: depth is created by overlapping the figures, as well as by graduated tones; the "fixing of the imaginary onlooker" by the direct gaze of the female; and the creation of intimacy through the lines that lead the viewer's eye down the standing figure's back and foreleg, around the curve of the seated female's striped rump to engagement with her eyes – techniques often used in artistic tradition, but not in traditional zoological illustration (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 76-91). The importance of the eyes is expressed in the original sketch for this image, on a folded scrap of brown paper, found in 2004 in the library of the Zoological Society of London (**fig 3a(i)**).[129] The image is reversed, perhaps indicating that the drawing was traced onto the lithographic stone, and below the standing figure Wolf has drawn another outline of the female's head, ironically, one in which her ears seem more accurately depicted. This drawing attests to the spontaneity of direct communication with an

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[127] In her essay on the American Museum of Natural History, Donna Haraway comments on dioramas that show animals in harmonious family groups and the phenomenon she notices in "scene after scene" one animal is "vigilant, ready to sound an alarm at the intrusion of man, but ready also to hold forever the gaze of meeting, the moment of truth, the original encounter" and that "the wary animal heals those who will look". Haraway calls this triumph of taxidermy "a politics of reproduction" ("Teddy Bear Patriarchy" 25).

[128] For over twenty years Wolf lived in Primrose Hill, very close to the zoo in Regents Park, and Schulze-Hagen notes that he often visited the zoo daily, was informed of new and interesting exhibits and talked to scientists, other artists and "animal lovers" during the many hours he spent sketching the animals (193-4).

[129] I am indebted to librarian Ann Sylph for finding this drawing and allowing me to photograph it on my visit to the Zoological Society's Library. In view of the statement by Schulze-Hagen – "unfortunately not a single sketch book was found after Wolf's death" (194) the discovery is indeed remarkable. There is a drawing of a lion on the other side of the folded sheet.

animal subject and, in this case, the effect of the experience has been transferred to the published lithograph. Unfortunately, this hopeful image of the thylacine is not included in the Royal Society of Tasmania's copy of the *Proceedings*, and neither are the other lithographs illustrating the text, so Tasmanian readers of the work are unlikely to have had the opportunity of viewing this visualisation of R.C. Gunn's "most valuable and interesting gift" to the Zoological Society of London, which was "rarely caught alive". Gunn describes the female as tame enough to be touched and comments that the newly caught male "seems to be on the best of terms" with the female, although "not yet so familiar with the presence of man", which is perhaps why only the female is mentioned on Richter's drawing ("Letter to the Secretary" 90).

An engraved version of this illustration is used in some editions of the *Guide to the Zoological Gardens of London* issued between 1852 and 1903, but these pamphlets are also hard to find in Tasmania **(fig. 3a(ii))**. The text that appears with the engraving in the 1852 edition of the *Guide* paraphrases Gunn's letter and makes much of the revelation that the animals are usually killed whilst in the snares, so that it is with the greatest difficulty and by offering large rewards that the present interesting specimens have been secured for the Society (Mitchell, *Guide to the Gardens 1852* 9). Comparison of the lithograph and the engraved image indicates the differences between the media: the subtle, delicate effect of chalk and paint and the harder, linear impression produced by the wood engraving. The text interacts favourably with the image, however, stressing the rarity, flexibility and activity of the animals and averting attention from the heavier medium. This is an example of what Donna Haraway refers to as the "specular commerce" between human and animal representation ("Teddy Bear Patriarchy" 25) but it also demonstrates the 'commerce' that goes on between image and the text. By 1880 the text in the *Guide to the Gardens* had changed so that it emphasised the species resemblance to a wolf and its fierceness and undesirability and, then, in 1892 a dark, demonised copy of this engraving, showing the male alone, appeared in *Mammalia, their various forms and habits* and *Cassell's Concise Natural History*, both of which are held in the Royal Society of Tasmania library (see Figure 4).

Another copy of the image in the *Proceedings* turns up in 1872 in a Dutch publication *De Diertentuin* (*The Zoological Garden*) by Wolf's mentor, Hermann Schlegel,[130] zoologist at the Natural History Museum in Leiden **(fig. 3a(iii))**. Apart from writing texts, Schlegel was also a highly skilled bird artist who wrote a treatise on natural history illustration, in which

[130]Schlegel engaged Joseph Wolf to participate in illustrating a now very rare book on falconry *Traité de Fauconnerie* (1845-53) with lifesize coloured lithographs of birds of prey, just before Wolf came to Britain (Schulze-Hagen 115-42).

he addressed the expectations of professional naturalists as well as connoisseurs of art, explaining:

> the purpose of such an illustration is to take the place of those elements that one is able to see or examine in nature only with difficulty, so that they can be clearly discerned in the illustration and their form, colour, proportions and further characteristics can be deduced therefrom as accurately as possible (quoted in Schulze-Hagen and Geus 97-8).

Heidrun Ludwig points out that Schelgel's priorities were "a complete departure from what had been required of wildlife artists" before that time when most worked in the museum, rather than "in nature" and that he admired Wolf's skill in "capturing ... the posture and character of every species as well as the relationship between their parts, and at finding the happy medium between the style required by the naturalist and the broad painterly treatment desired by the lover of art" (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 99). The image of the thylacine in *De Dierentuin*, however, is not signed and three other artists are mentioned as illustrators; one of them is J. Smit, a lithographer with whom Wolf worked on other publications (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 26) so he may have been familiar with the image of the thylacines in the *Proceedings*, which was available in Leiden, and copied it.[131] However, Chris Smeenk points out that it was a common practice for several artists to work on the production of an image, so Smit may not have been the only one to contribute to this engraving (pers. comm. 22/9/04). The most significant element in the image is the new background. The mountain habitat in which the thylacine was supposed to live is now a prominent feature, with the grassy mound in Wolf's lithograph turned into a precipitous cliff, complete with sinister tree roots. These ominous signifiers were to become a common element in popular images of the thylacine in the following decades and, indeed, the text that accompanies the engraving stresses the thylacine's resemblance to "our" wolf and mentions sheep-killing, nocturnal behaviour and the species' near-extinction, but also the fact that "in captivity it becomes very tame" (Schlegel 158, trans. J.G. van Moort-Kapteijn). This new background, the thinner, pointier nose of the standing figure, and the harshness of the engraving medium completely transform the tone of Wolf's original picture. The progressive alienation of viewer from subject starting with Wolf's original image, then moving to the engraved version, and then to this stark transformation, is repeated again and again in images of the thylacine between the beginning of the century and its end.

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[131] Thanks to Dr Chris Smeenk, curator of mammals at Leiden Museum, for this information. He notes that many other pictures in *De Dierentuin* are based on publications or originals issued or held in Leiden (pers. comm. 30.10.04).

A second lithograph by Joseph Wolf of the pair of thylacines in London Zoo appears in a large, limited-edition work called *Zoological Sketches by Joseph Wolf* published in 1861, of which only two copies are extant in Australian collections (**fig. 3b**). This publication resulted from the decision in 1852 of the Council of the Zoological Society of London to create "an accurate artistic record of the living form and expression of the many rare species of animals that exist from time to time in the menagerie" (Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* 109). Wolf was commissioned to execute a series of watercolour drawings and the drawing of the two thylacines includes the date 27th December 1853, so it was probably made when only the female of the original pair remained in the Zoo.[132] These drawings were hung in the Picture Gallery at the Zoo and in the Society's Lecture Room. Fifty of them were later lithographed and coloured by Joseph Smit, published in book form, and called *Zoological Sketches*. As only 94 copies were subscribed this publication is now rare (Dance 130), although as late as 1895 Wolf's biographer informed his readers that "separate coloured plates can be got at the publisher's at a cost of 7s.6d. each" (Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* 109).[133] The watercolour (**fig. 3b(i)**) that preceded this lithograph shows again how an image is changed when transferred into a printed medium and bears out Wolf's comment that "all the vigour" of a drawing can never be transferred to lithographic stone even if the artist is the same – the result is always different (Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* 114). The overall effect of the sketch is much softer and the undefined background does not impose extraneous meanings on the figures, as the published lithograph does. Wolf believed drawings were "far more interesting than the elaborate works of which they are precursors ... They resemble an infinitely touching, infinitely simple air, rather than the complex, scientific instrumental display" (quoted in Schulze-Hagen and Geus 162). Both watercolour and lithographed image in *Zoological Sketches* of a size comparable to the picture of the pair in *The Mammals of Australia*, and the stance and position of the two animals is also similar; in fact it is so different to the illustration that Wolf provided for the *Proceedings*, that it is hard to believe he was not influenced by Richter's lithograph. However, in Wolf's version both animals have alert and attentive expressions, with their heads raised in a sniffing attitude. Neither the appearance of the thylacines nor the background has the intertextual references apparent in Richter's lithograph; rather, many aspects of this representation, such as the naturalistic woodland with

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[132] As the original male died in 1853 this watercolour and the subsequent lithograph, like Richter's, was probably based on the female that survived till 1857 (Moeller 158).

[133] The Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery holds this image as an independent print, undated and unsigned and purchased at auction in 1975. Recent examination of the print by lithographer Kaye Green suggests that it was produced by photolithography, a method rarely used before the twentieth century. The hand colouring of the image in copies of *Zoological Sketches* held by the Australian Museum and the Zoological Society of London is much lighter than that of the print at TMAG, where the figures in particular are quite dark and deeper pigments bear out Wolf's concern about the translation of his watercolours to lithographic print (Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* 111-14).

a knotted tree trunk and autumnal leaves added by the lithographer, refer to a familiar European location. Other elements in the image, such as the short legs and the position of the heel, are anatomically misleading and it is interesting that these figures are much fatter than in Wolf's earlier drawing and lithograph (fig. 3a and 3a (i)), perhaps indicating how the condition of the animal changed.

Although Wolf's biographer remarks on the ability of the artist to present animals "so naturally", as if in their "wild unpersecuted life" that for a time it is forgotten that they are "captives in London" (Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* 110), the solitary thylacines in London Zoo would have displayed few of their natural habits for Wolf to record in this very *un*natural habitat. The thylacines in *Zoological Sketches*, however, are more sympathetic and evocative of an animal to which an observer might relate than Richter's perfect, polished images. Their yearning, upturned faces encapsulate the effect of confinement and considerably extend the traces of desire embodied in the attitude of the figures in Gould's work that appear to gaze through the wire of their cage. The effect of Wolf's image on perceptions of the animal, admittedly in a very different era, is revealed in Wilfrid Blunt's 1976 history of the London Zoo which includes the illustration and describes 'Tasmanian wolves' as "delightful marsupials" and "elegant creatures, so prettily striped on the rump" (66). The text about the thylacine in *Zoological Sketches* is understated, as it calls the examples of the species held by the Zoo "individuals of this extremely curious and interesting animal" and "the only specimens that have ever reached Europe alive". This reading, however, may be influenced by the positive effect of the image, as the species' "addiction" to sheep is also mentioned. The last line of the entry, then, evokes sympathy as it notes, "perpetual war is ... raged against [the thylacine] by the Tasmanian shepherds, whose determined persecution must eventually lead to its extinction" (Sclater, *Zoological Sketches* np).

At the end of the nineteenth century this image also appears as an engraved copy by J. Smit in a book called *The Geography of Mammals*, co-authored by Philip Sclater, secretary of the Zoological Society of London and editor of *Zoological Sketches*, and his son William **(fig. 3b(ii))**. The tree is now a dominant form in the image, overpowering the figures and, with a vine twined around its trunk, introduces a similar set of signifiers to Richter's image. This motif, in conjunction with the dense hedge behind the tree and the absence of colour in the print, transforms the previous image into a dark, mysterious, faintly menacing scene. The text mentions only that the *Dasyrus* "prowl about at dusk", a statement supported by the illustration, and that the thylacine is a "dog-like animal with a long tapering tail" and the largest of living carnivorous marsupials (Sclater and Lutely, *Geography of Mammals* 24). Again, this imagetext indicates and produces a hardening of attitude toward the species as

the century progressed. In the following figures, executed for the first time in the latter part of the nineteenth century, this attitude will be abundantly evident.

Images influenced by *The Mammals of Australia*

Joseph Wolf's benign images of the thylacine are rarely seen today, but there are many reproductions, copies and images influenced by Richter's lithographs for Gould that were in circulation in the nineteenth century and are still used today. An illustration of the thylacine showing a figure similar to those in Richter's lithograph appeared in an Australian publication also called *The Mammals of Australia* with a text by the Curator of the Australian Museum in Sydney, Gerard Krefft in 1869/71 (**fig. 3c**). This large image is one of only four of the thylacine in natural history works that are produced in Australia. A 1979 facsimile of the work calls the lithographs by Harriet Scott and Helena Forde "sensitive and delicate" and the preface informs the reader that the Council for Education originally published them as "Object Lessons, for the use of their schools" (*Mammals, 1979* Foreword). According to Krefft's preface, this compilation of images with additional text was also aimed at a juvenile audience. Krefft states that the lithographs were executed from drawings by the artists' father, A.W. Scott, but the signature on the drawing of the thylacine states "Harriet Scott delt et lith", implying that Harriet both drew and engraved the illustration. In the *Dictionary of Australian Artists* Joan Kerr writes that the drawing was based on a photograph by Victor Prout of a mounted specimen in the Australian Museum, but attempts to find any record of this photograph have been fruitless. Krefft writes that "the price of Mr. Gould's elaborate Work places it beyond the reach of ordinary means, and Mr. Waterhouse's *Natural History of Mammalia* – the best treatise on Marsupiata ever published – has been long out of print, so that the present Book may be considered the only one of its kind now available" (Krefft, *Mammals, 1871* np).

Krefft's *The Mammals of Australia*, then, is a conscious alternative to the works of Gould and Waterhouse (discussed in Figure 2). It is a folio-sized publication with similar dimensions to Gould's *Mammals* and Harriet Scott's lithograph of the thylacine has the same qualities as Richter's "handsome" image. On one level the illustration presents a picture-book-pretty figure, as approachable as a domestic cat, with powerful feet like a lion or dog, a ruffled edge to its ear and a composed mouth. But the eye, different again from those of the figures in Gould's work, implies the animal has dangerous intentions by its oblique shape, upward tapering at the outer corner and off-centre gleam. Like the illustration in Gould's book, this picture wants to be admired, and often is, for the figure's attractive body, precise stripes, burnished eyes and nose and for the care that went into its execution. But it operates

like the description of the Tiger in the extremely popular work *The History of the Earth and Animated Nature* written by Goldsmith in the 1770s and reprinted many times in the nineteenth century, which states:

> no quadruped can be more beautiful than this animal: the glossy smoothness of the hair ... the extreme blackness of the streaks with which he is marked ... an extremely elegant form ... Unhappily, however, this animal's disposition is as mischievous as its form is admirable; as if Providence was willing to show the small value of beauty, by bestowing it on the most noxious of quadrupeds. We have at present one of these animals in the Tower [Menagerie], which to the view appears the most good-natured creature in the world; its physiognomy is far from fierce or angry; it has ... a gentle placid air; yet for all this, it is fierce and savage beyond measure; neither correction can terrify, nor indulgence tame it (Goldsmith, *History of the Earth* [1855] 367).

In the lithograph by Harriet Scott, the suggestion that the thylacine is a deceptive animal is achieved by a set of cunning devices: the large, primary figure – so clearly defined and so beautiful – declares its ominous intentions only by the shape of its eye, its ready stance and tense neck. And working with these almost imperceptible signifiers is a flock of tiny sheep in an Arcadian landscape immediately beneath the neck and nose of the figure; the mountain 'lair' implied by the rocky foreground and the snow-covered mountains that tower behind it; and the connotation of mystery in the waterhole that looks so 'natural'. This illustration, which originally hung without its text on the wall of numerous schools in New South Wales, is clearly designed for the deliberate, astute gaze of a young viewer. It is seductive, it desires the complete attention of the viewer, it toys with the aesthetic senses and pounces on the unwary.

Krefft's brief text, on the other hand, is blunt and to the point. It begins, "this animal is the largest and most ferocious of the whole Mammalian Fauna of Australia and frequently visits the plain country to attack the sheep-folds". Krefft describes the dramatic habitat in the background of the illustration – "the summits of the western mountains of Tasmania appear to be their stronghold" – and explains that, if trapped, Tasmanian tigers are certain to gnaw off the captured limb if they can reach it. He states that they will kill hundreds of sheep at a time and that they have attacked humans. As Krefft's words are read, the hidden messages of the image become clearer; this text works to direct the gaze to, and interpret, the ominous signs the picture contains; it articulates intertextual references and shatters impressions of peace and prettiness generated by the picture. But readers of the book have been prepared for images of violence and death in the preface to the work, where Krefft takes the opportunity to appeal to the residents of country districts for contributions to the national

zoological collection, particularly for the echidna and platypus "shot during August, September and October ... especially their young"; "sun or smoke dried skeletons, skins of Mammals, Birds, Fishes, and Small animals in brine, Insects and Shells in spirits". The entry for the platypus informs children that "a solution of strong salt and alum is sufficient for the preservation of the bodies, which should be opened, well washed (but not otherwise meddled with), and put in brine" (Krefft, *Mammals, 1871* np). Ann Datta notes that Krefft was responsible for adding a large number of specimens to the National Museum's collection during his ten years as Curator of the institution (423) and his anatomical and physiological studies are acknowledged as establishing the Australian Museum "firmly in the international world of science" (Strahan 30). This illustration, then, issued under the name of the director of the Museum, a national institution devoted to the pursuit of science and the recording and construction of opinions about zoological subjects, carries attitudes likely to be of particular authority and influence in Australia.

It is apparent from this work that natural history publications emanating from Australia in this period could be even more extreme in their condemnation of the thylacine and encouragement of its extermination than those originating in Europe. In Tasmania, one of the most familiar early copies of Richter's image for Gould is an illustration by Louisa Ann Meredith in her books Our Island Home (1879) and *Tasmanian Friends and Foes: Feathered, Furred and Finned*, published in 1881 (**fig. 3d**). This roughly sketched black and white lithograph suggests that Meredith slavishly copied and reduced the image in *Mammals*, as the figures have the same pointed snouts and sloping eyes and the same large-leaved plant is positioned at the base of the foremost animal's neck. The hard-edged, smooth impression of the plate in Gould's work has been diffused by soft crayon lines and a slight upward tilt of the head and gives a far less menacing impression. However, the text of Meredith's *Friends and Foes*, a "family chronicle of country life, natural history, and veritable adventure" based on the experiences of her family in Tasmania, firmly places the thylacine in the "foe" category. Her fictional character, Guy, repeats the familiar stories about the thylacine: "no care or kindness will civilise it in the least ... have seen the captive brutes, chained up, of course, and well fed, but not safe to go near". Guy also mentions their propensity to attack sheep, commenting "but we do not hear of them very often now" (*Tasmanian Friends* 65-6).[134] Meredith made similar comments under her own name in *My Home in Tasmania,*

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[134] Paddle feels that this comment indicates that Meredith has "distanced herself from ... popular constructions of the thylacine as a sheep killer" expressed in an earlier work and now considers them "so rare, retiring, shy or unobtrusive that they no longer represented a potential threat to sheep" (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 135). But as sheep killing is, in fact, mentioned in the text, the comment could merely indicate the progress of the extermination process.

published nearly 30 years earlier. She says "the 'Native Tigers' are yet more to be dreaded among sheep than the 'devils'; but, *fortunately*, they are far less numerous" (264, my italics).

The name 'tiger' was only used for the thylacine in Tasmania and Australia generally, rarely in Europe or in zoological works. It is the first common name cited at the beginning of Gould's text, Meredith uses the name throughout her books, and it is applied to the images associated with the Australian Museum in the following section.[135] In Asian colonies the tiger was also facing the possibility of extinction, for instance, a report in *Saturday Magazine* in 1836 stated "the constant warfare" waged against the tiger threatened "to make the species rare, if not to extinguish it" ("Animals" 112). The association of the thylacine with the tiger links it again with the East, the exotic and the strange. Today, the word 'tiger' has positive connotations of strength and beauty, but Harriet Ritvo points out that in the nineteenth century, far from being an admired animal, the tiger "epitomised what man had to fear from the animal kingdom ... it was 'an emblem of savagery and butchery'... like the wolf, the hyena and some other big cats, it was often called 'cowardly', which apparently meant unwilling to face men with guns ... [it was said that] no discipline can correct the savage nature of the tiger, nor any degree of kind treatment reclaim him" (Ritvo, *Animal Estate* 28).

This is a conclusion Meredith also expresses in a story she tells about the skin of a thylacine and how she came to possess it. A shepherd had caught a young thylacine in a snare while killing its mother. The man had come to Meredith to receive "the usual tribute of money or tobacco, which is always given for a tiger killed or taken". Meredith continues:

> He had the animal secured by a chain and collar, and when it was to be carried off, slipped a strong bag very adroitly over its head and shoulders, pushed the hind legs in, and fastened it. I pitied the unhappy beast most heartily, and would fain have begged more gentle usage for him; but I was compelled to acknowledge some coercion necessary, as, when I gently stroked his back (after taking the precaution of engaging his great teeth in the discussion of a piece of meat), I was in danger of having my hand snapped off (*My Home in Tasmania* 264-5).

Earlier, Meredith has commented on the thylacine's physical likeness to a dog and it seems she expected a recently traumatised native animal to behave like a domesticated dog, even though many of these would also object to being touched when eating. She "obtains a place" for this particular thylacine in Sir Eardley Wilmot's collection, but says it "resisted all endeavours to civilise and tame it" so the skin was eventually preserved "instead of the living form of my ungentle protégé". On the basis of this experience she goes on to

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[135] See the Table of Images in volume 2 of this thesis for an overview of the naming of the thylacine in natural history works.

conclude, "I believe the tigers are truly untamable [sic]" (*My Home in Tasmania* 265). Her statement corresponds neatly with traditional constructions of the Asian tiger and contrasts sharply with the experiences of R.C. Gunn revealed in a letter read at a meeting of the Royal Society of Tasmania in 1851. It reads "my living thylacine is becoming tamer: it seems far from a vicious animal at its worst, and the name tiger or Hyena gives a most unjust idea of its fierceness" ("Letter, 1854" 157).[136]

In his book *The Colonial Earth*, Tim Bonyhady points to the contribution of Louisa Meredith and her husband to the promotion of environmental protection in Australia, to her campaign to protect animals, particularly the black swan, and to her key role in establishing the Tasmanian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. But as he rightly says, "Louisa Anne Meredith is significant not only for what she did but also for what she did not do" (131). The "friends" in *Tasmanian Friends and Foes* are small, timid, or attractive animals and in *Bush Friends*, another of her books, they are flowers, berries and butterflies. Like Gould, Meredith was in a position to influence opinion in the colony, but her relatively sympathetic version of Richter's illustration of the thylacine was not supported in her texts, another example of the contradictory values expressed in the nineteenth century and an indication of how the thylacine was constructed as a threat, even by those who championed kindness to other native animals.

Another copy of Richter's lithograph was also originally produced for the Department of Public Instruction in New South Wales and has a particularly interesting relationship with Gould's publisher, Henry Sotheran (**fig. 3e**). With other images of Australian mammals and birds, prints of this lithograph were mounted on boards, varnished, and hung in classrooms throughout New South Wales (Hindwood 357), however, standing alone the image would have had quite a different effect on the attitudes of school children when compared to the image discussed above. The large picture was drawn and lithographed by Gracius J. Broinowski using the animal in the forefront of Richter's lithograph in *Mammals of Australia* as a model. It is reversed, indicating it is a copy, but there are significant differences in this illustration. First, the exotic foliage in Richter's image is omitted and even the mountains that are so prominent in Scott's picture are absent; instead, the illustration shows indistinct fern-like foliage, neutral grasses, and vaguely defined bushes and trees. Rather than both front feet being placed together, Broinowski's figure has one leg in front of the other so that tension is absent from the image. But the most crucial difference is in the way the eye is depicted: now it is rounder and the darkly pinched, extended corners

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[136] Paddle makes similar observations to mine regarding Meredith's behaviour toward and assumptions about the thylacine. See *The Last Tasmanian Tiger* pages 69-74 for his list of historical references to thylacines kept as 'pets'.

have been diffused in lighter, pastel shading. The result is a representation of the thylacine that lacks any connotations of threat and is nothing more than a pale tracing of the ominous animal in Gould's work.

The New South Wales Department of Public Instruction accepted only 500 sets of Broinowski's lithographed figures instead of the 1000 as originally arranged, so in 1884 or 1885 the artist "had a number of the sets bound with appropriate text" and called it *Birds and Mammals of Australia* (Hindwood 357). The text is largely taken from Krefft's work, beginning with the words "this animal is the largest and most ferocious of the whole Mammalian Fauna in Australia", repeating the adage that if caught they are "certain" to gnaw off the trapped limb, and stating that thylacines will kill hundreds of sheep and have attacked men. However, Broinowski's use of the images from Gould's book was a problem for its publishers, Henry Sotheran, who issued a request forbidding the author "from proceeding further with the reproduction" and threatening an injunction because his firm intended publishing a reduced version of Gould's work for "the Australian Colonies". Broinoswki stopped production and few copies of the work are in existence – only three complete copies of the work are held in Australian libraries, one of them in the Royal Society of Tasmania library. While there were justifiable legal reasons for preventing Broinowski from publishing his work, this move allowed images in zoological and natural history works that disadvantaged the thylacine to dominate the representation of the species.

Another late nineteenth-century copy of the illustration from Gould's work appears in *An Introduction to the Study of Mammals Living and Extinct* by William Flower, director of the Natural History Department of the British Museum, and Richard Lydekker (**fig. 3f**). It is significant that the word 'extinct' now appears in the title, a reflection of the growing acceptance of Darwin's ideas and an indication of the prevalence of an event requiring that a distinction must be made between those species that have survived and those that have recently disappeared. This is a scientific work, its text concentrating on classification and anatomy, with detailed notes on dentition and a drawing of the thylacine's skull. It mentions the "dog-like characteristics" of both extinct and existing forms of the species, but also lists the common names given to *Thylacinus cynocephalus* – 'Tiger', 'Wolf', 'Hyena' and, of course, that it has been nearly exterminated because of "the havoc it commits among the sheepfolds" (Flower 137). The wood engraving by C. Butterworth opposite the description features the foremost animal in Richter's lithograph. It is reversed and the tail is curved toward the feet, perhaps due to the size and shape of the block of wood on which it was engraved. The large-leafed plant is still there and the exoticism of the original remains in the use of the name 'Tiger', but the illustration has both a less attractive and less ominous impact than Richter's original. This use of the figure, compared with Meredith's copy, shows how

the primary image in Figure 3 was adapted and transformed in sites quite different in genre and content from that in which it originally appears, and how the image produced new meanings as it interacted with different texts.

In a very early twentieth-century work, *A Naturalist in Tasmania* by Geoffrey Smith, there is an adaptation of Richter's lithograph that produces a similar impression of the animal but its text is perhaps the most damaging for the thylacine yet produced (**fig. 3g**). In the preface Smith reveals that "the illustrations in this book are partly from photographs and drawings of my own, or made under my direction, while many are borrowed from [photographer] Mr. Beattie of Hobart"; the drawing of the 'tiger', however, is "a composite drawing by Mr. Bayzand of Oxford, partly after Gould and partly my own suggestions" (5). In Bayzand's drawing the proportions of the animal's body in relation to its head have been changed, the tail and ears are shorter and the neck longer. This animal looks much more like a dog than Richter's thylacine, although it stands in the same position as the figures and has the same sniffing, searching attitude. Unlike most other descriptions of the thylacine in natural history works, Smith's notes are compiled from "stories" told to him by a shepherd he met on a visit to Lake St Clair in central Tasmania and he states that "it will not be very long before [the species] becomes extinct" (95). His comments contain few phrases from other works, instead he states that the thylacine is much thinner than the wolf, has "rather poor fur of a yellowish-brown colour", that it hunts by night and generally singly and, then, that "the destructiveness of the animal is greatly enhanced by the fact that the Tiger will only make one meal of a sheep, merely sucking the blood from the jugular vein or perhaps devouring the fat round the kidneys" (96).

Paddle investigates imputations of 'vampirism' in relation to the thylacine at some length and finds that it is a particularly twentieth-century construction that was accepted in a number of scientific works, citing more than twenty that refer to the 'habit' between 1927 and 1976 (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 30-35). This work by Geoffrey Smith written in 1909 is the first of those, and Paddle attributes the adoption of the 'myth' to Smith's status as an Oxford academic and a war hero. He also quotes a letter from Smith that makes a statement not unlike that made by George Harris (see Figure 1) more than one hundred years earlier: "there are all sorts of legends of strange animals about, especially in the lake district" (quoted in Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 34). Although the stories Smith records fall short of a construction of 'vampirism', they do indicate the way unsupported myths arose in Tasmania and were repeated in scientific and popular works. It also demonstrates how visitors from Europe, together with local people with a vested interest in exterminating the thylacine, generated rhetorical images of exoticism and otherness (see also the discussion of Gould, Franklin and others above). The visual image Smith produces does not contain the

orientalism apparent in Gould's work, but the text compensates by investing the illustration with undertones of blood and violence even more chilling than the deceptive original – it makes explicit the connotations present in Richter's illustration. The text in Smith's book goes on to say that the thylacine is a "cowardly animal" and that the shepherds wage "incessant war on the creature, in summer laying traps and hunting it with dogs, and in winter following up its tracks through the snow". Then,

> a reward of a pound is given for the head by the Government, but the shepherd generally rides round with the head to several sheep-owners in the district, and takes toll from them all before depositing it at the police station. As a consequence, a large reward must be offered for the carcass of a Tiger, and an offer of £10 during a year for a live Tiger to be delivered in Launceston was unsuccessful. It pays a shepherd very much better just to hack off its head and take it round on his rides (96-7).

If Paddle's doubts about the veracity of the stories told to Smith are correct, then this statement is also questionable; however, it *is* consistent with reports about the rarity of the species (in that making the most of each captured thylacine would be expedient) and the difficulty museums and zoos had in obtaining live or dead specimens. In the extremes of its rhetorical imagery, the text in this work makes a major contribution to the network of negative constructions that the thylacine, as a non-speaking subject, had no power to contradict. But in stories such as that quoted above, it also informs the reader of how the bounty operated, the violence and corruption it encouraged, and the manner in which the species suffered.

In light of the type of stories that were circulating, it is significant that the first book published in Hobart in which the thylacine is fully described draws heavily on the images in both Smith's work and Gould's *The Mammals of Australia*. The work, *A Synopsis of the Vertebrate Animals of Tasmania*, appears in 1924 and was written by Clive Lord, the director of the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart and H.H. Scott, Curator of the Launceston Museum in the north of the state. A line drawing beneath the species' name appears to be traced from Smith's image (**fig. 3h**) while on the opposite page a copy of Gould's head of a male has been rendered, with the addition of white highlights to the eyes making it even more demonic than the original. This representation again exhibits dissonance between image and text, but this time the image carries the negative connotations, while the text slides from one extreme to the other. The thylacine is described as "large and wolf-like" but then the species is delineated as "in reality quite a shy animal" and again a propensity for sheep killing is mentioned and Gould's "prophesy" is quoted. The greatest stress that occurs in texts such as this early in the twentieth century is the need for the collection of material for recording and research in museums (see also Figures 5 and 6). Rather than urging

preservation and making moves to ensure the protection of the species, the matter is left to chance, as is indicated by statements such as "unless unexpected developments occur" extinction will become reality (Lord and Scott, *Vertebrate Animals* 264-6). It is surprising that a work emanating from Tasmania, where live specimens of the thylacine were resident in the 'new look' Hobart Zoo in 1924, used images made in Britain in 1851. This testifies to the weight of Gould's artistic reputation, the influence of nineteenth-century European works, and the cultural cringe of colonial scientists.

Gould's image also turns up in a number of other formats in the early twentieth century. A lantern-slide in the State Library of Victoria's picture collection, one of 105 slides in a presentation called *Views of Tasmania* by J.W. Beattie, a prolific Tasmanian photographer, shows a reproduction of Richter's lithograph of the pair in London Zoo. Beattie had concerns about native animals and the Tasmanian environment (see conversions) and prepared and delivered popular Lantern Lectures to accompany his slides, but I could not find the commentary for his picture of the thylacine. There is another reproduction of this image, attributed to Beattie, in a 1934 travel book called *Tasmania: The Wonderland* (Government Tourist Bureau 20) that describes the thylacine and Tasmanian Devil as primitive types and notes that both can be seen at the Hobart Zoo. A book by Charles Barrett published in Melbourne circa 1932 with the title *Australian Animals: A Book for Nature Lovers* reproduces Gould's illustration but with a very different text – now the words Barrett uses reverse common constructions of the thylacine: it has "become rare. *Man* is to blame for this"; "has been *persecuted* from the early days of settlement, as a sheep killer or a dangerous beast"; the tiger is "*inoffensive* where man is concerned" and "despite recent efforts at *protection*, this unique native animal seems doomed to join the extinct Tasmanian emu in the Land of the Lost" (*Australian Animals* 32, my italics).[137] The image remains the same, the attitudes and text change; soon the negative inferences contained in Gould's work that were read by countless people who had the means to influence the survival or extinction of the species would be forgotten.

Late in the twentieth century, the refiguring of Richter's illustration on the label of a Tasmanian brand of beer, Cascade premium lager, ensures that the pair have a constant presence in Tasmania and a more popular and widely dispersed audience than it had ever had in Gould's work.[138] The image on the beer label transforms the figures into what Mitchell

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[137] In 1973, in a series of articles called "Our Rare Ones" in the popular magazine *Womans' Day*, a verbal construction typical of the late twentieth century appears with another reproduction of the illustration from *Mammals*. The text states that "John Gould drew this handsome pair from specimens in the London Zoo" and asks "Is the thylacine extinct?", cites naturalists who believe the thylacine still exists, mentions sightings and uses the word 'mystery' ("Our Rare Ones"). More recently, Tim Flannery has used the lithograph and twenty other Gouldian illustrations in *Australia's Vanishing Animals: Endangered and Extinct Native Species* (1991).

[138] The first image of the thylacine to appear on a Cascade label in 1870 will be discussed in conversions.

defines as a totem – a companionable form, object of "playful *wonder* that leave[s] the beholder transformed, enlightened, initiated into a community of understanding, or interpellated into a collective ideology" ("What Do Pictures Want?" 226). Now the exotic foliage has been eliminated from the background and the stripes are continued down the animal's tails, but the figures' slanted eyes are retained. These are strong, resilient thylacines as befit the label of a drink traditionally marketed with male consumers in mind and, although the menacing gaze of the original figures is now meaningless, these images embody greater economic power than was ever dreamt of by Richter or Gould.

Summary

Analyses of the illustrations that make up Figure 3 show how the dominance and endurance of an image in a zoological work was more because of the circumstances in which it was made and the status of the work in which it appeared, than because of its 'accuracy'. The first living thylacines that arrived in Britain were the basis of the most celebrated images in thylacine history but perhaps because of their status connotations of the exotic and strange have been glossed over or entirely ignored in assessments of them. Gould's image is, in fact, a political representation that embodies networks of power and influence operating in imperial colonies and British scientific and colonial circles. Copies of these lithographs also demonstrate the way illustrations have a life outside their original site and show how some images operate as a "virtual, detachable, and mobile gestalt" of the thylacine in different genres and discursive framing (Mitchell, "What Do Pictures Want?" 217). On the other hand, Joseph Wolf's lithographs for the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society* and *Zoological Sketches* reveal the capacity of images to produce attitudes that may have encouraged concern about the thylacine and, in conjunction with certain texts, could have raised the possibility of protecting the species. It is highly significant that the works in which Wolf's illustrations appeared are so difficult to find in Australia, or missing from works held in Tasmania.

Several of the images in Figure 3 are the only ones dealt with in this thesis to be labelled Tasmanian 'tiger', a name that was commonly applied to the thylacine in Australia in the mid-nineteenth century; however, the name 'wolf' that became the most common in zoological works from the 1870s onwards, also begins to appear at this time. A merging of the traditional and bizarre is exemplified by a Spode plate currently displayed on a side table in an ante-drawing room at Government House, Hobart Tasmania, which is designated "Chasing after a wolf" on its reverse side. It shows a truly oriental scene that includes Aboriginal figures with loincloths and turbans hunting a thylacine using dogs and spears.

Palm trees shade the setting; the striped 'wolf' sports a bushy fox-tail and carries a sheep over its back in the manner of medieval foxes; while bears and tigers circle the rim of the plate. A matching utensil features an elephant hunt.

Imagetexts that exploited the reader's taste for representations of the exotic and dramatic were particularly popular in the middle of the century and, as a result, the exotic thylacine is perhaps the most dominant of all the figures that emerge from the nineteenth century. In conjunction with the operation of codes that favoured the extermination of the species, especially in works that emanated from within Australia, these imagetexts indicate the intense political focus of some zoological works. With the exception of Wolf's lithographs and Broinowski's copy of Richter's image, the images in natural history works considered in this chapter, then, interact with and reinforce the discourse of extermination. They appeared as surviving members of the species declined and the capture and killing of those that were left became more frenzied. The illustrations discussed in the next chapter cover a similar, but slightly shorter, time period and constitute the culmination of negative stereotyping and maligning of the thylacine. They demonstrate how, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a long tradition of visual and verbal constructions of the European wolf was transferred to the thylacine with devastating effect.

FIGURE 4

THE TASMANIAN WOLF 1850-1900

The illustrations that make up Figure 4 are a series of wolf-like images of the thylacine that appeared in natural history works, primarily in English and particularly in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s. They overlap in time with the images in Figure 3, but persist for a shorter period that coincides with the operation of the government bounty in Tasmania, which was responsible for a substantial reduction in thylacine numbers. These images are much more obvious in their construction of the thylacine as a threat to human practices than any previous images, chiefly because they draw on specific and well established intertextual connections with the European wolf. They are accompanied by labelling that defines this association, indeed, Tasmanian or Marsupial Wolf is the dominant name given to images of the thylacine in zoological works until well into the twentieth century.

In the first verbal description of the species in 1805 Lieutenant Governor Paterson compared the thylacine with the wolf – "reminding the observer of the appearance of a low wolf dog" – and, as mentioned in the discussion of subsequent images, this association intermittently but insistently reappears as a signifier in both images and texts (3). In some early scientific descriptions, however, the resemblance is considered superficial. As early as 1827 Temminck noted that the thylacine was in "size similar to that of a young wolf" ("Taille de l'adulte d'un jeune loup") but also that "on the whole, and at first glance, the basic shape of this animal offers a lot of similarities with the *Loups*, but it resembles more the *Dasyures* and the *Sarigues* families, through its elongated body and short extremities" (Temminck 63-4, trans. Nicole Johnson). However, even serious zoological works as well as more popular publications, especially those that included illustrations, continued to refer to a similarity between the thylacine and the European wolf. Today, zoologists often justify the comparison in terms of 'convergent evolution', where there is a similarity of form and behaviour between organisms living in a similar environment, but belonging to different branches of the evolutionary tree (Begon et al. 22). Following Darwin's theories concerning the variation and evolution of species, this similarity is usually interpreted as indicating that similar selection pressures were in operation. According to Begon et al., however, because marsupial and placental mammals sprang from a common ancestral line, similarities between them exemplify the *parallels* in the "evolutionary pathways of phylogenetically related groups that have radiated after they were isolated from each other" (23). Neither form is mentioned in any of the later works in which these images appear and the acceptance of this principle in relation to the thylacine and the wolf depends on whether superficial physical

resemblance is stressed over deeper morphological, behavioural and social differences and on the motives behind the assumption.

Recent studies such as those by Moeller (1968) and Keast (1982), which analyse the anatomy and body proportions of the thylacine compared with the wolf and the hyena, find that the measurements of the thylacine are quite different, with the closest resemblance in the skulls. But here, too, Moeller notes that the carnassial teeth of the thylacine are weaker than those of the wolf and that this may be associated with the smaller prey that the thylacine kills (in Guiler, *Thylacine* 52).[139] Keast states the thylacine "is less convergent structurally on ... the placental Wolf (*Canis lupus*), than superficial criteria would suggest", in that "it is different from the Wolf in virtually all structural features relating to its pursuit carnivore role". He notes that the length of all four limbs is greater in the wolf that the thylacine, that the neck of the wolf is longer, and that the hindlimb/spine ratio is greater in the wolf (675-81). Guiler concludes that "the general build and body form of the wolf give it an agile appearance while the thylacine appears slower and clumsy with an ungainly heavy tail" (*Thylacine* 51-3). The hunting habits of the thylacine were correspondingly different from those of the wolf with the morphology of thylacines adapted to slow gait and "pounce and pursuit" predation on smaller prey, in contrast with the fast chase and slashing bite of the wolf (Jones and Stoddart, "Reconstruction" 239-46); the thylacine was also a solitary hunter, rather than hunting in packs like the wolf (Guiler, *Thylacine* 80).[140] Significantly, in a reconstruction of the likely prey size of the thylacine, Jones' and Stoddart's findings suggest that the species "killed medium–sized prey (1-5kg) that were small relative to its body size (15-30kg), with a crushing, penetrating bite" and that its body type, gait and slow speed suggest hunting in reasonably open habitats consistent with their former distribution and sightings - everywhere that is, except the thickly-forested and mountainous regions in the west of the island. Jones and Stoddart, then, also conclude that "ecomorphological convergence of the thylacine with canids was superficial" ("Reconstruction" 239).[141] The idea of convergent or parallel evolution, then, certainly does not justify the assumption that the thylacine was a voracious sheep killer.

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[139] A comparison of photographs of the skulls of the thylacine and the wolf can be accessed on the Thylacine Museum website http://www.naturalworlds.org/thylacine/skull/wolf_thylacine_skulls.htm .

[140] In his examination of nineteenth-century sources, Paddle finds varying reports of hunting techniques and concludes that thylacines therefore had "different styles of hunting" behaviour (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 44). Most zoologists, however, accept that thylacines were solitary hunters; for instance, Jones and Stoddart in "Reconstruction", page 243.

[141] In another paper on convergence in ecomorphology among marsupial and placental carnivores, that mentions the thylacine, Jones makes two important points for this discussion: first that "convergence in function is often not particularly well matched with convergence in form" and that "there is much to be learned about the ecomorphology of marsupials and, by extension, convergence between marsupial and placental carnivores". She adds that "questions of species diversity have barely begun to be addressed", including "how behaviour and physiology compensate for mismatches in convergences in form and function" (Jones, "Convergence" 285, 295).

Ironically, the flowering of wolf mythology and iconography in illustrations of the thylacine coincided with a change in the style of zoological and natural history illustrations in the latter part of the nineteenth century from schematic to naturalistic (outlined in the chapter Framing the Image). This development in illustrations can be seen remarkably clearly in the images discussed in this and the following chapter. Significantly, there is a return to the wood engraving in these prints, so they produce obvious, unequivocal messages; they are linked to intertexts by unmistakable semiotic references; and they generate powerful, often over-determined meanings. As far as the habitat of the thylacine is concerned, however, the images considered in this chapter repeat the misconceptions of previous works – particularly in relation to mountainous regions – so that, far from having an ecological relevance, they merely amplify the negative tendencies of previous illustrations that have no significant backgrounds. In all of these images, the significance of naming and mythological associations with the European wolf is central to an understanding of their impact in terms of the extinction of the species.

Naming and Wolf Mythology

Most images of the thylacine in natural history works in the second half of the nineteenth century and until the mid-twentieth century are labelled Tasmanian wolf or Marsupial wolf with the alternate name 'tiger' occasionally offered (see Table of Images). Texts suggest that the terms were in common use in Tasmania as well as in descriptions about the thylacine made outside the colony. A.R. Wallace's geographical work on Australasia notes that "tiger wolf" was used by the settlers (245); Arthur Nicols' book *Zoological Notes* states that the colonists call the thylacine "Tasmanian wolf" (76); W.S. Dallas, member of the Linnean Society, states that it was called "Zebra Wolf, Hyena and Tiger" (673); *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* 1882 mentions "wolf" or "tiger-wolf"; the *Catalogue of the Marsupalia in the British Museum* heads its description with "Thylacine or Tasmania Wolf" (Thomas, *Catalogue of Marsupalia* 256); while the *Victorian Naturalist* 1887 describes the species as the "Tasmanian tiger, sometimes called the marsupial wolf" (Wintle 27). The citations above also show that 'Tasmanian wolf' was a designation used in scientific works as well as popular publications. This naming and the illustrations executed by artists, printmakers, and photographers discussed in this thesis, should be viewed in the light of Dale Spender's assertion that "people are not led to the same view of the universe by the same physical evidence [because] their vision is shaped by the different names that are employed to classify physical evidence" (163). This statement is not only exemplified in the way images of the 'Tasmanian wolf' were constructed by various artists and craftsmen, but also suggests that

viewers of the illustrations will reinforce these constructions and read into the images further ideas suggested by the caption 'wolf'.

It is worth elaborating on the meanings that association with the wolf entail. A 1911 book called *Every Boy's Book of the Zoo* is explicit about the significance of wolf-naming for a general audience. It exclaims " The Wolf! What a lot there often is in a name" and goes on to evoke "the lonely traveller, suddenly pounced upon by a pack of these howling and powerful wild beasts" (Berridge 224). Entries for the European wolf in natural history works in the nineteenth century are unequivocal in their representation of the species as a ferocious predator, and entries for the thylacine repeat almost verbatim many of the stories related and phrases used to describe wolves in much earlier works. But even if they did not, Spender writes of the phenomenon of naming: "new names systematically subscribe to old beliefs, they are locked into principles that already exist, and there seems no way out of this even if those principles are inadequate or false" (164). For example, in *Cassell's Popular Natural History* it was said that wolves can not be tamed, that males devour their cubs, that they "would leap upon walls eight foot high" and that they pull down horses and sheep by the throat (Anon., *Cassell's* 63-7). *Wild Sports of the World: A Boy's Book of Natural History and Adventure* describes the wolf as "combining the cunning of the fox, and the ferocity of the tiger" and notes that the wolf is "without doubt, one of the most cruel and bloodthirsty of man's four-footed foes" (Greenwood 271). They were said to emerge from the woods "craving for slaughter", to destroy dogs, their "most deadly enemy", and, significantly, every measure was thought permissible to capture them – "snares, spring-traps, pitfalls and even poison" (Wright, *Mammalia, Nd.* 402-6).

In the nineteenth century when these works were written, wolves were still found all over the Continent, but were extinct in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales as the result of a history of bounties, or similar inducements. Today they have been exterminated in most of Europe, although a few remain in northern Spain, Italy, Germany and Scandinavia. However, before the Norman Conquest the animals in Britain were protected, with severe penalties for those convicted of killing wolves and foxes within the limits of the forest, while kings sometimes bore the name of the wolf as an indication of their "courage and ferocity". Then according to James Harting, in 938 Edgar imposed a "tribute" on the King of Wales for 300 wolf skins. This virtual bounty on wolves continued to be paid for three years, but ceased when it was said the King could not find any more wolves in Wales. In England, wolf populations fluctuated; in 1306 they were considered "rare, but not extinct". *British Animals Extinct within Historic Times* records that wolves were hunted in return for land in 1320 and that later "stringent measures were being devised for the destruction of wolves in all or most of the inhabited districts" (Harting 124-7, 146-7). By 1500 the wolf has disappeared from

England. In Scotland, Acts were passed for the destruction of wolves, forests were cut down or burned to expel wolves in areas where they abounded, and by 1684 the animal was believed to be extinct, although narratives of the 'last' animal killed were numerous till 1743. In a similar way, laws were passed to exterminate wolves from Ireland and the last wolf was reputed to have been killed there in 1709, but they were reportedly seen until 1770. Imagetexts discussed in Figure 4 frequently allude, both explicitly and implicitly, to the immense volume of well-known stories and myths about the European wolf that appeared in anecdotes and popular genres, especially those for children, for centuries. Awareness of the extent and nature of this intertextuality is particularly important in understanding the impact that pictures and descriptions of the thylacine that keyed into wolf mythology must have had on nineteenth-century viewers, and on the survival of the thylacine.

The wolf was also linked with witchcraft, lycanthropy, night, magic and the devil.[142] Stories and images circulating in the nineteenth century supported and developed these ideas; for instance, the fairytale "Little Red Riding Hood" that was and still is part of most children's experience, ensured that the ideas of danger and the wolf were intimately connected. There are also numerous versions of this story for sophisticated adult audiences and Jack Zipes contends that Perrault and Grimm's extremely popular retelling of the tale came to play a crucial role in the 'civilising' process in Europe and America. He traces the origins of the story to seventeenth century oral folktales told by women in France, that were intended to warn children against the danger of talking to strangers in the woods, but the wolf in later *adaptations* for both children and adults operates on a number of levels with "pictures ... clearly intended to serve as a warning to young girls who might be seduced by 'men-wolves'" (4-7, 39).[143] The wolf in these stories is deceptive and treacherous: a hostile force which, in one of its manifestations, stands for Nature, while the wolf's eating of Red Riding Hood plays on the greatest fear of European explorers and settlers in the New World – cannibalism. In *Robinson Crusoe*, a very popular work from the eighteenth century, Crusoe exhibits a terror of being dismembered and consumed that also operates as a fear of being overcome by 'animal desires' encountered when away from the civilising influence of Europe (Defoe, *The Life and Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner.* 24, 163-5). In Grimm's tale, Red Riding Hood is supplied with a male protector to rescue her and her grandmother from the wolf. Zipes argues that Perrault's eighteenth-century

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[142] Many of these associations of the wolf with evil are as old as the Bible. For a fuller account of negative stories and superstitions regarding the wolf from medieval publications to recent practices see Grooms quoted in Knight ("On the Japanese Wolf" 139) and Lopez (140-6).

[143] Zipes is primarily concerned with readings of gender issues and sexuality in the tale; he concentrates on the way constant retelling of the story reflects shifts in gender roles, feminist attitudes and how it fostered notions of violence.

version, that had "massive circulation in print in the 18th and 19th century", perpetuated strong notions of male dominance, unlike the original folktale in which Red Riding Hood finds a way to outwit the wolf and escape with no assistance from anyone. This 'protector' is a *hunter* who serves as a model of how men should behave.[144] Zipes maintains that Grimm's retelling of "Little Red Riding Hood" took second place only to the Bible in nineteenth-century Germany and that most translations into English were based on this version (30, 36). The associations made between the thylacine in Tasmania and the European wolf in zoological and natural history works segues into the grand narrative of the ferocious predator, the rescued child and the masculine hero. It constitutes another contemporary retelling of the folktale in a particularly potent form combining, as it does, a familiar story of danger with a suggested solution to the problem – hunting and killing the animal.

Crying Wolf

A forerunner of the wolf-like images in natural history works is a tiny figure on the bottom right-hand corner of the well-known map of Van Diemen's Land published in London by Tallis in 1851 **(fig. 4)**. The pointed ears, long hairy coat and long legs are typical of depictions of the European wolf; only the figure's tail resembles the kangaroo-like appendage of the thylacine. Elements of this image have been apparent in previous illustrations of the thylacine (see trans. e and f) but this is the first I have found that *fully* develops wolf imagery in the form of the species. It is the only animal on the map, which shows a tranquil scene of Hobart at the top of the page and, significantly, on the left bottom corner opposite the thylacine, the palatial residence of the "VDL company's agent at Circular Head" behind a garden of exotic flowers and introduced trees. By setting these illustrations on opposite sides of the base of the map (a cartographic figure that defines the island) a problematic binary is suggested. On the one hand there is the pastoral endeavour that connotes the economic imperatives of 'civilisation', and on the other the thylacine, which is visualised as a threatening figure looking down on an invisible settlement.

Joseph Wolf, one of the most prominent of the new-style illustrators whose work is also discussed in Figure 3, produced the first of the sequence of wolf-like images in natural history works **(fig. 4a)**. It appears in volume III of a publication called *Excelsior: Helps to Progress in Religion, Science and Literature* published in 1855. All of the seven animal illustrations in the book are drawn by Wolf and engraved by L.C. Martin. The quotation on

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[144] Jody Emel looks at the connection between wolf eradication and masculinity in the twentieth century in her article "Are you Man enough, Big Enough and Bad Enough?" (91-116).

the title page – "Forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before" (Philippians, ch. III, 13) – defines 'progress' and anticipates one of the reactions to the ideas associated with Darwin's theories, discussed later in this chapter.[145] The eclectic contents of *Excelsior* include chapters titled "On instinct"; "The Triumph of David", "Robins and their Songs", "The Wild Boar", "The Nun's Confession" and "The Tiger-Wolf". I found a copy in the Crowther collection at the State Library of Tasmania with a handwritten note in the front saying "Thylacine in Regent's Park Zool. Gardens 1850". There is a reference to the animals in Regent's Park in the text that accompanies this image, but nothing to suggest the illustration was directly modelled on the animals there (Anon., *Excelsior* 244-9). This figure does not have the sway back that is shown in Wolf's illustration of the pair for *Zoological Sketches* and it projects none of the sympathetic associations of his earlier lithograph for the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* (figs. 3a and 3b). Perhaps this is Wolf's variation on these images and one that expresses his stated dislike for scientific work and his preference "to convey something of [the animal's] habits, character and temperament" in the manner of romantic art (Kemp, "Taking It on Trust" 135), for here Wolf has visualised the difference between the two types of illustration – a "mere representation" of an animal and "a picture in which there is an idea" (Palmer, *Joseph Wolf* 107).

The idea projected in this image is that of an intent, focused, predatory animal that is looking at something in the landscape below. The lone thylacine has its head lowered as if stalking prey and the hunched shoulders and curled front paw imply that the figure has just mounted the boulder over which it crouches. The image has considerable resonance, suggesting controlled power and hazard to the object of the animal's gaze, while the stripes on its back are compellingly obvious. The European leaf forms that surround the figure in this wood engraving are so similar to those that appear in Wolf's previous pictures of the thylacine that they operate as a signature. The forest of fir trees in the right distance acts as a visual index referring to centuries-old European wolf mythology embodied in stories such as "Little Red Riding Hood" and "Peter and the Wolf", that constructed wolves as predators to be feared and destroyed. Joseph Wolf is presenting is one of the dominant perceptions about the thylacine – that it was a dangerous predator – rather than the results of observing a captive animal. If this image is indeed based on the specimens in London Zoo, Wolf has released

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[145] As the thylacine was soon called a "living fossil", there was no doubt as to the place of that species in this scenario. For instance, a book on mammals published in 1906 combines wolf imagery with a reference to the obsolescence of the thylacine when it refers to a figure in a photograph as a "much–dreaded beast" with the "look of an ancient creodont and the manners of a modern wolf" (Ingersoll 511). Much later, in 1931, an English weekly newspaper called *Field* ran a full-page story about "A Prehistoric Beast Still Living", however, the subtitle urges the preservation of this "striped Wolf" that is a "survival from the past", although the text admits that it is probably too late as thylacines had not been seen for ten years (Morey 822).

the thylacine from its cage, located it in an elevated site, wrapped it in the sinister clothing of mythology, and placed it in a position that encouraged fear, hatred, and destruction. On the other hand, this picture embodies the thylacine's power – one small turn to the right and the animal could be facing the viewer. Viewed in this way the figure in Wolf's engraving demands respect but, in terms of the nineteenth-century *mentalité*, there are many opposing codes and signifiers and too many textual determinants in the image to allow the thylacine's behaviour to be interpreted as merely instinctual.

Despite reference to the "tiger-wolf" on the contents page of *Excelsior*, the illustration of the thylacine is identified as "The Tasmanian Wolf". The text details attacks on sheep in a passage that is littered with words such as "savage" and "formidable" and comments "it has become an object with the settler to destroy every specimen he can fall in with, so that it is much rarer than it was at the time Mr. Harris, its first describer, wrote its history". At the end of this passage comparison with the tiger, which is called "the barred tyrant of the Indian Jungles", is also invoked. "W", the writer of the text, also quotes the remark in the *Guide to the Zoological Gardens of London* on the thylacine's "resemblance to the *character* of the wolf, whose treachery and suspicious manners in confinement must have struck everyone who gazed on this 'gaunt savage' in his *den* in Regent's Park [my italics]". The writer also refers to the *pair* of "shy and restless" specimens in the Gardens, but the male thylacine Gunn had sent to the Zoological Society was dead by the end of 1853 (Anon., *Excelsior* 249). The text states that the thylacines can bound upwards nearly to the roof of the place where they are confined, calling up both mythical stories of the wolf's capabilities and the tendency to "spring" that Gunn mentioned in relation to the female in the letter about his gift (Gunn, "Letter to the Secretary" 247-9).[146] Wolf may have designed this image of the thylacine around the 'habit' revealed in the text and, rather than observing the animals in Regent's Park again, may have relied on his visual memory and previous drawings. Agility and the capacity for surprise attack adds another dimension to the imagined danger of the thylacine and exemplifies the tendency for every report of unusual behaviour to be exploited in representations of the animal during this period. The plate of Wolf's crouching figure is used again in Lydekker's *The Royal Natural History* in 1894, this time as a decorative feature at the bottom of the contents page, unlabelled, and with Wolf's signature and fir trees removed. Its position would have given the image considerable exposure as it was placed on a page of this book probably viewed by every reader who opened it. The placement also

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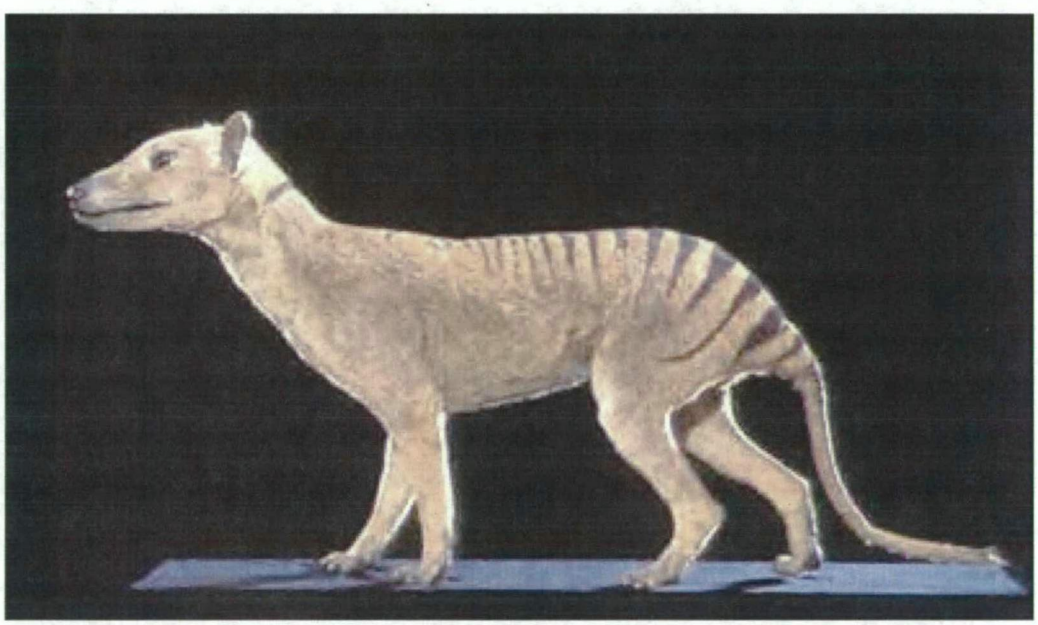
[146] Gunn mentions that "a trustworthy person" reported that the female thylacine "was excessively agile – springing from the floor to the walls" of an unfinished house he had put her in ("Letter to the Secretary" 90). This statement implies that the writer of *Excelsior* referred to Gunn's letter, or the 1852 *Guide to the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London* that quotes the letter, rather than observing this behaviour in Regent's Park, as it is rarely mentioned in relation to the thylacine in other confined situations.

implies that the image was considered so interesting or evocative it was used to enhance the dramatic effect of the whole volume.

A lithograph in a Dutch publication, showing an animal in a different attitude and pose, develops the imagery in the engraving after Wolf. It is the most wolf-like illustration dealt with so far, with the environment behind the figure indexing traditional ideas about the habitat of the European wolf. I have traced its first appearance to *De Dieren, Aafgebeeld, Beschreven en in Hunne Levenswijze Geschetst* by L.A.J. Burgersdijk, published in Leiden (formerly Leyden) in 1864 (**fig. 4b**).[147] The lithograph is believed to be executed by well-known Dutch lithographic artist and associate of Joseph Wolf, Joseph Smit. Smit also worked for Hermannn Schlegel, director of the National Museum of Natural History in Leiden, which acquired two specimens of the thylacine in 1827. One of them, a mount with a thin body and a narrow, slightly raised head, was probably the model for this image.[148]



Illus. 7 Taxidermy mount Leiden Museum, The Netherlands (Sleightholme 39001).

Temminck noted in 1827 that the skulls had been removed from the perfectly preserved ("d'une conservation parfaite") specimens (Temminck 65) so this may account for the flattened head of the illustrated figure, copied from the mount pictured above that also has a

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147 I am grateful to Jeffrey Stillwell of Monash University for supplying me with this information. The illustration is held as an independent print in the Allport Library at the State Library of Tasmania.

148 Dr Chris Smeenk, Curator of Mammals, Museum of Natural History Leiden, compared the illustration with the two specimens in Leiden Museum and found that "the drawing is remarkably similar to the larger animal we have, one of Temminck's syntypes of C. *harrisii*. The number of stripes, the long one extending onto the thigh, the forked one behind that and the two final stripes joined, are nearly the same as the right side of the mounted skin". Dr Smeenk considers that the resemblance is "too obvious to be the result of chance. The other, smaller, skin in our collection is very different" (Smeenk 13/9/04). I am also grateful to him for information regarding Smit, Schlegel and Burgersdijk.

long narrow snout and a neck elongated by the tanning process. As discussed in the chapter Framing the Image, early specimens often show signs of the process of drying and tanning skins, as well as imaginative taxidermy that results in misleading variations of form. These variations, the particular position the taxidermist favours and the location of specimens, make it reasonably easy to identify the models used for certain illustrations. For instance, the hindquarters of this mount are in a very similar position to that of the figure in Smit's lithograph and the Museum at Leiden is the only one in the Netherlands that holds specimens of the thylacine. The indefinite impression of the lithograph and its pastel colouring softens the menacing effect of the image, but the large size of the figure in relation to the background, its keen posture and sense of heightened awareness – exaggerated by the strident lines that force the viewer's eye outside the space of the illustration – endow this illustration with considerable impact. The detail in the foliage and rocks in the foreground pull the eye back into the picture and have the effect of authenticating the scene. With the snowy mountains behind the figure, pictorial aspects of this image resonate with Harriet Scott's deceptively attractive lithograph discussed in Figure 3. Smit's lithograph, however, displays a European interpretation of the Tasmanian landscape in which the Marsupial wolf was believed to live.

The picture of the thylacine in *De Dieren* is placed on a page with an image of a Tasmanian devil that looks very ugly and ferocious. In comparison, the thylacine looks large and has the cowardly appearance often remarked upon in descriptions of the European wolf. That is, while the lines of the head lead out of the picture, the posture of the shoulders and paws implies a tentative attitude: the figure's desire to attack is qualified by fear. The image is labelled Buidelwolf (translated literally and popularly as 'pouch wolf' but, scientifically speaking, 'marsupial wolf') and the text explains that the name 'wolf' is earned ("en verdient zijn naam") from its appearance, as well as its habits, and makes the point that its taste for sheep is shared with its European namesake. The environment in the illustration is explained in the remark that the species has retreated to the "western mountains" and then Harris's imagery of chasms and darkness is invoked once more. In its description of the Tasmanian devil, "De Zwarte Buidelmarter", the teeth of both species are said to have the same characteristics as "real beasts of prey", but its marine scavenging habits are likened to those of the thylacine (Burgersdijk 506-8, trans. Inga Hofling). As the teeth of carnivorous marsupials are substantially different from those of the placental carnivores this resemblance is indicative of a selective understanding of the nature of the Order. No mention is made here of the function of the pouch in either species; nor in the introduction to the section dealing with marsupials, where the teeth are the focus of description. This tendency to dwell on predation and violent behaviour exemplifies entries for the thylacine in popular works and

compromises attitudes to the species throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and beyond. These images of the thylacine and the Tasmanian devil also turn up in an American work where they are inserted into a scene with other Australian animals such as koalas, kangaroos and wombats, which are depicted as innocent and appealing.[149]

The lithograph discussed above is recycled as an engraving in important and popular German and English works in the 1860s and 1870s. First, an engraved copy by R. Kretschmer appears in *Illustrites Thierleben*, the first edition of a very popular and well-known German zoological work, *Brehm's Thierleben* in 1865 (**fig. 4b(i)**).[150] Successive editions established this title as the primary reference work about animals in German and part of the cultural heritage of German-speaking people. Potts calls this work "a classic of [the] new form of illustrated natural history" and notes that the introduction to the French translation explains how the images "make the animals come alive in their distinctive physiognomy and familiar attitude, harmoniously framed in the landscapes of their homeland" and that they are like "genre pictures taken on the spot of the intimate life of wild or domestic animals" (Potts 32 my italics). The image is labelled Beutelhund, Zebra or Beutelwolf, a name that Claude states was "adopted and spread immediately by dictionaries and illustrated magazines" in Germany. It remains the only popular name for the thylacine in Germany today (Claude 54-5, trans. Dagmar Nordberg). The image is a close copy of the lithograph in *De Dieren*, but the mountains are closer, larger and more forbidding, while the figure is slightly heavier.[151] Claude comments that the mountainous background is only shown as "backdrop-like scenery" into which the figure is not successfully integrated, but the detail of vegetation in the foreground contradicts this statement (55-6). The reworking of the image as a wood engraving also results in an explicitly ferocious and threatening figure. Detail in the teeth, hair, snarling mouth and pointed ears of the figure is now possible; every aspect of the lithograph is now distinct, detailed and exaggerated; for instance, the engraved figure has a clearly defined long, shaggy coat and loose skin. Comparing the two images defines the difference between lithography and engraving – the engraving is decisive in the ideas it carries: the foliage and tiny flowers in the foreground shimmer, the snow on the mountains glows and the rough coat of the large animal draws danger and alarm closer. The picture demands close attention; it fascinates and repels.

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149 A print of this image is held in the Allport Library in the State Library of Tasmania, but citation details are not provided. Unfortunately, searching for nineteenth-century American sources is beyond the scope of this thesis.

150 Later editions of *Brehm's Thierleben* use other illustrations of the thylacine, including photographs. See variations and Figure 5.

151 Chris Smeenk suggests that this engraving may be a copy of the lithograph in *De Dieren*, or both engraving and lithograph may have been copied from the same original drawing, possibly by another artist but probably also by Joseph Smit (pers.comm. 17/9/04).

The written description that accompanies this image immediately addresses the illustration. It says of the thylacine: "he carries his name fully, as one realises with a single glance at our illustration, because he seems to be indeed, a wild hound".[152] Despite this early reference to the dog (*hund*) this appellation is not used in the text, but the term Zebrawolf or Beutelwolf is consistently employed. Many of the ideas about habitat are derived from Harris's description, but the species is described as "alert, and even wild and dangerous" and that he [sic] mostly emerges from a fight victorious because his enemies indeed could only be dogs. The paragraph concludes, "he truly is a real wolf and in his home country he causes, relative to his far lesser size, just as much damage as his northern namesake" (Brehm, *Illustrites Thierleben* 5, trans. Dagmar Nordberg). The text resembles the Dutch description discussed above, with mention of marine predation, but adds a range of other food such as echidna, bush wallaby and platypus. The thylacines in London Zoo are mentioned as the only examples of the species that have ever come to Europe alive, so the preparation of this work for publication must have preceded the arrival of a thylacine at Berlin Zoo in 1864.[153] The selectivity of ideas included in entries in zoological works is exemplified in the recounting of Gunn's story of the thylacines he sent to Regent's Park. An ability to leap to great heights is repeated yet again and a preference for mutton is stressed, but there is no mention of the tameness of the female who, Gunn maintained, allowed her head to be scratched through the bars of her cage "without showing any anger or irritation" or that his children daily passed the enclosure where the pair was kept (Gunn, "Letter to the Secretary" 90).

In the same year, an almost identical print by W.J. Colman engraved by the Brothers Daziel appeared in the Mammalia volume of the English publication *The Illustrated Natural History* by Rev. J.G. Wood. Further editions of this work, with similar titles and including the same picture, were published in 1867, 1872, 1874 and 1876 (see Table of Illustrations). As it is held in its various forms in public libraries in Tasmania, Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales and Queensland, it can be assumed that it had very wide circulation in Australia in the nineteenth century. The text gives precedence to the name "Tasmanian Wolf" and includes the rarely used classification *Paracyon cynocephalus*, suggested by Gray in the *Annals of Philosophy* 1825 and mentioned in Cuvier (1827) but which, according to Oldfield Thomas in the *Catalogue of Marsupalia and Monotremata in the Collection of the British Museum (Natural History)* 1888, "has no claim to adoption, as its original mention is unaccompanied not only by a diagnosis, but also by any indication of what species it is intended to contain, although its author afterwards assigned it to the Thylacine" (Thomas,

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[152] Claude states only that the image "corresponds to the text" in Bergersdijk's work (54). If Bergersdijk's work appeared first, as I believe it did, then the text does indeed 'correspond' to that image.

[153] According to Moeller, this thylacine only survived for 5 months, which may be why Brehm mentions that in captivity "some insist ... [thylacines are] difficult to keep alive" (Brehm, *Illustrites Thierleben* 6).

Catalogue of Marsupalia 255). Paracyon (Greek) means "dog-like", so use of this taxonomic label endows the image/text, which focuses on similarities to the wolf, with an element of irony.[154] The text states that the home of the thylacine is "so deeply buried in rocky crevices that it is impenetrable to the light of day" and that in this "murky recess the female produces her young". The combination of darkness, dirt and confined space imply distasteful habits and place the thylacine in a twilight zone with animals such as the hyena and jackal. The conical mountains that dominate the background of this picture perform the same function as the fir trees in Wolf's illustration (fig. 4), but the lurking attitude of the animal alludes to a more disturbing set of ideas than those suggested by the crouching thylacine in that illustration. Text and image begin to bond much more closely in imagetexts in Figure 4, with the words in *The Illustrated Natural History* also speaking directly to the image: "as may be imagined from the very expressive name which has been appropriated to the animal which is represented in the engraving, its character is not the most amiable, nor its appearance the most inviting" (Wood, *The New Illustrated Natural History* 126-7). Even though this text relies on ironic understatement, it does not diminish the agreement of verbal and visual codes which construct, in this and the previous examples of the image's use, a powerful, reverberating representation that leaves no room for alternate interpretations. Read with its texts, the figure becomes an over-determined representation, a caricature, a clone of the European wolf.

A less explicitly wolf-like image appears in a popular publication translated from a French work by Arthur Mangin in the 1870s called *The Desert World; or the Scenery, Animal, Vegetable life, and Physical character of the Wilderness and Waste places of the Earth* (**fig. 4c**). I found this book in the University of Tasmania Library's offsite store. On a page preceding the preface there is a quotation from Wordsworth: "For I have learned / To look on Nature, not as in the hour / Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes / The still sad music of humanity", that references the effect of time on perception as well as Biblical notions of wilderness as a place of contemplation. The text defines the 'desert' in paradoxical terms, finding "sterility and death" there and stating that it is an area where man has not cultivated the earth, where nature has resisted human industry, and yet where there is "ample material for the admiration of the artist, the meditations of the thinker, the researches of the naturalist and the physician". Australia is called a new world of zoology and botany, "a world apart", and only the more unusual marsupials are selected for description. The thylacine is called "Tasmanian Wolf" and, although the names 'tiger' and 'hyæna' are also mentioned, it is said to "resemble a wolf in many respects, but ... its elongated muzzle is

[154] Associate Professor Peter Davis from the School of History and Classics at the University of Tasmania supplied this translation.

almost cylindrical in shape, and very thick" (Mangin 371-2). However, the snout of the figure in the illustration accommodates the wolf imagery in the text, as do the pointed ears and long body: the form takes on the connotations of its label, rather than the qualifications supplied by the text. The form and position of the figure is similar to the male in Wolf's lithograph of the pair in London Zoo that appeared in *Zoological Sketches* in 1863, but it bears an even greater resemblance to a copy of that image by J. Smit (fig. 3b (ii)) although, because it faces the same way as the latter, it is more likely to have been copied from Wolf's lithograph. However, there are subtle differences to both, for instance, the addition of long whiskers on the nose, mountainous terrain in the background and a raised head. Similarities to the behaviour attributed to wolves are made explicit in the text: "there exists in Tasmania an animal of carnivorous habits almost as large as a wolf" that "has a wolf's appetite, and commits havoc in the same manner among the flocks of the colonists" (371-2). This type of imagery and reference to predatory behaviour with sheep is constantly mentioned in the decade preceding the government bounty in 1880.

A similar, but hairier and much more intimidating image is found in Louis Figuier's *Mammalia: Their Various Forms and Habits*. This work appears in two different editions in 1870 and 1874 and in versions attributed to Percival Wright published in 1874, revised c1887 and 1892 (**fig. 4d**). It also turns up in *Australien: das neue Buch der Reisen und Entdeckungen* (The New Book of Voyages and Discoveries) a German work published in 1870 and in an Italian book, *I Tasmaniani: Cenni Storici ed Etnologici di un Popolo e Stinto* (The Tasmanians: Historical and Ethnological Account of an Extinct People) by E.H. Giglioli in 1874. Signed A. Mesnel or "B", this illustration is also derived from the male in Joseph Wolf's lithograph of the pair in the Zoological Gardens that appeared in engraved form in the *Guide* to the London Zoo, but it is given a menacing rendering. Here, the male is alone and the hairs on his neck and torso have been lengthened to give the animal a wolf-like appearance. While some of the vegetation is similar to that in Wolf's image, the unruly grasses, deeply shadowed bank and dark-faced clouds added to the foreground and background of the picture function as tropes for the sinister. These transformations of Wolf's gentle, early response to the live animals in London Zoo epitomise the manner in which negative constructs were persistently produced at the end of the century when the eradication of the animal was at its height. The text that appears on the pages before and after this image is brief and calls the thylacine the "strongest and fiercest of all the marsupials", comparing its habits to the "sanguinary appetite" of the wolf, despite noting "in the Australian colonies the names of familiar animals ... are *misapplied* to the indigenous marsupials"(Wright, *Mammalia, Nd.* 28-9, my italics). Even the koala in this work looks

ferocious, but the kangaroo is depicted in the usual manner of natural history works – with young in its pouch and an innocent expression.

The extremely brief text about the thylacine in *I Tasmaniani* follows a paragraph about an Aboriginal cremation ritual during which a dog was found devouring part of the corpse. It is stated that the Tasmanians are the *only* people on earth that do not even have the dog, "that constant companion of man in all his stages of civilisation and barbarism". The text calls the thylacine "the indigenous marsupial dog", claiming that it could not be domesticated because of its "low intelligence" (Giglioli 108-9, trans. Patricia Bessell). The alignment of the thylacine with the human inhabitants of Tasmania is apparent in this work. The text in the German work *Australien* describes the thylacine as "ein wirtliches Raubthier" (a true predator) that now occurs "only rarely", while the phrases and imagery of Harris's first text – that refer to ravines and gorges, half rotten fish, and dark places – are regurgitated to underscore the ominous image. The thylacine is also associated with the wolf and the words in *Illustrites Thierleben* (4b (i)) that refer to the species as wild and dangerous are repeated, along with the statement that the thylacine "achieves as much devastation as does his namesake the wolf in the Old World" (Christmann 242-3, trans. Dagmar Nordberg). The text in both these works develops and extends the dark shadows in the image, the hairy wolf-like body and the air of unpredictability inferred by the clouds, the untidy grasses and the unstable position of the figure.

Meyer's *Konversations-Lexicon* 5th edition, 1893, a well-known and very popular German encyclopedia of general knowledge that is the standard reference work in middle class households in Europe, contains a different wolf-like illustration (**fig. 4g**). This is a composite of the thylacine image in *Brehm's Tierleben* 1877 (var. a) and the traditional illustrations of the European wolf in zoological works. The tail and haunches of the figure seem to derive from the engraving after Mutzel, while the thick, shaggy coat signifies a wolf and the slim legs a pursuit predator. The face of this animal is particularly unpleasant, with a dark circle around the eye drawing attention to its narrow shape and oblique position. The thylacine stands at the base of a page with engravings of other *Beuteltiere* (marsupials), including a similarly shaggy Tasmanian devil and a Virginian opossum and marsupial mice. The figure is large and menacing in relation to the other animals and the depiction of the spiky grass tree in the background accentuates the idea of a disagreeable animal in an inhospitable or bizarre environment. The text is a brief version of that in *Brehm's Thierleben*, stating that the thylacine resembles a "wild dog", that it has been driven back into the hinterland, and that it does as much damage as the wolf (Meyer, *Meyers Lexicon* 935, trans. Dagmar Nordberg). Images such as this in a popular work both reflect and influenced attitudes toward the thylacine in Europe during the years the bounty was in force;

they also how the shape and details of the species were transformed to fit the stereotype of a bloodthirsty and dangerous animal of the kind that was believed to deserve such treatment.

Meanwhile, in 1888 a new pair of thylacines had arrived at London Zoo and the engraving after Wolf in the *Guide to the Gardens* that provided a form on which to model the images discussed in fig. 4d (above), appear with a new text that is much reduced from the 1869 edition. It begins "in one of the dens adjoining the Wolves will be found a pair of another Carnivorous Mammal". Thylacines were originally housed in the Carnivore Terrace dens for "Wild Beasts", as the *Guide* for 1852 explains, and were described as the "rarest animals" exhibited there (Mitchell, *Guide, 1852* 5-9). They occupied the "centre division" of the Eagle aviary next to raptorial birds from 1858 to 1862 and 'sheds' of their own near other marsupials in 1869, according to the *Guides* for the relevant years. In about 1884, four years before the government bounty was introduced, they were moved to what was then the Hyena's and Bear's dens in the same location as the Carnivore Terraces in which they were first housed. The 1885 *Guide*, that places the engraving (fig. 3b (ii)) on its cover, describes the thylacine as "closely simulating the Wolf in form", although stressing that it belongs to an entirely different order, but *then* refers to it as the "Native Wolf" and ends with the comment "its speedy extermination [is] almost certain. Even now it is very scarce and difficult to obtain". Next door, the European Wolf, already extinct in Britain, the American Wolf and the now extinct Japanese Wolf were housed. Perhaps it was envisaged there would be no replacements for the thylacine, for the entry ends with an abrupt dismissal: "the visitor should now mount the steps at the end of the terrace and inspect – 14. THE BEAR PIT " (Sclater, *Guide, 1885* 24). On the page opposite the text in the 1888 edition of the *Guide*, the relatively large engraving of the sweet-faced female and attendant male is a disjunctive image that questions the discursive frame that surrounds it. The interaction of this image/text with the zoo visitor and the living animals in the cage must have produced complex, wavering sight-lines. But there was little time for the image to affect perceptions of the pair of thylacines in the Zoo, for within two months both of them were dead (Moeller 158).

Images published in Australia

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the allusions projected in illustrations of the thylacine in the European natural history books discussed above were repeated in Australian contexts. The following images show how effectively the idea of the wolf was developed in the popular press that had a large circulation in the settlements in and near Tasmania. The first appeared in *Australian Graphic: An Illustrated Intercolonial Newspaper* in 1884 (**fig.**

4e). An editorial in an issue of the magazine the previous year, claimed that the publication had "a unique position in the world of International journalism", offering to the public of "these Southern lands ... a magazine-newspaper which, – viewed as a whole, – as a combination of copious illustration, various literary matter, excellence of mechanical detail, and cheapness of price – stands unsurpassed amongst the newspapers of the globe". One of the functions of the pictorial press, it states, is to "exert an educational influence" through the "association of the artist's pencil and the engraver's burin with the steam printing press" that gives "vitality, force and vivid reality to the broadsheet which it never before possessed" (Anon., "Somewhat Egotistical" 2). In the same issue there is a column outlining the method of engraving used in the newspaper: known as 'Crocker's process', it involved painting on glass with fluoric acid, producing a fine line and "a cheap, rapid and durable means of reproducing drawings". One of the advantages of the process noted is that "the artist has no interpreter but himself [sic]", unlike the wood engraving where "the artist's conception is frequently modified in the treatment it receives at the hands of the engraver". Instead, the "suggestiveness of the artist's work is faithfully retained" (Anon., "Australian Graphic" 3).

The gaunt thylacine in *Australian Graphic* is the epitome of appetite and seems to illustrate the text of *Every Boy's Book of the Zoo* which suggests that "if one is of an adventurous turn of mind it does not require much effort to create some sort of impression of the tactics of these prowling beasts when food is difficult to procure and the pangs of hunger are upon them" (Berridge 224). The tree on the right with its tangled roots or fallen branch is a powerful signifier of death and desolation and it is present in some form in all of the three illustrations I mention in this section.[155] The rocky background exaggerates the suggestions of the texts discussed in this chapter by focusing closely on a specific aspect of the environment stated to be the habitat of the thylacine/wolf. The rocks in the foreground close in on the figure with the same effect as the idea of the 'fissure' or 'cleft' that traps and isolates the animal in Harris's text. The thylacine is enclosed and unreachable, completely othered by a mass of negative signifiers. The text in this publication proclaims the species "almost unknown" and mistakenly refers to animals in London Zoo as "quickly pining away through confinement, and perhaps disease". The zebra wolf is described as an "object of dread" because of "a most unmistakable appetite ... for mutton" which it prefers to the kangaroo in the illustration. While the names 'tiger' 'zebra' and 'hyena' are said to be applied because of the animal's stripes, the effect of the name 'wolf' is explained in the "war of extermination" that has ensured that the few survivors of the species in Tasmania are

[155] Australian artist Russell Drysdale uses the signifier of the gnarled tree root to convey the idea of drought in *The Rabbiters*, 1947.
See http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/collection/australian/painting/d/drysdale_r/education_kit.html

"confined to the wildest and most inaccessible regions" (Anon., "The Tasmanian Zebra Wolf" np).

Perhaps the most extreme example of wolf imagery appears in a copy of the *Illustrated Australian News* published in Melbourne in December 1885 **(fig. 4f)**. This picture presents an expansive view of the animal's habitat, compared to the enclosed scene in the illustration discussed above. The lean, long-bodied striped figures near a rocky ledge on what appears to be a mountaintop look as if they might be playfully baying or barking. Despite the panoramic view, the mountains covered in impenetrable forest suggest that the viewer is a hidden observer of the "Marsupial Wolves" and could also instil a trapped feeling in the observer of this family scene. When the brief text informs readers that the drawing is taken from a group of mounted specimens in the National Museum, the constructed nature of the image undercuts the impact of the picture; however, the text is six pages away from the image. Thylacines are called "the largest and most formidable ... of the carnivorous marsupials" that "in ferocity rather exceeds a wolf" and their behaviour is interpreted as deceptive, thus correcting any implication that they might be playful (Anon., "Marsupial Wolves" 218). This information transforms the figure on the right of the picture into an aggressive animal, the grey-black quality of the print darkens and the image becomes enormously suggestive. The illustration is particularly evocative of the gothic landscape imagined, and often stated to be, the exclusive home of the thylacine – the impenetrable glens in the neighbourhood of the highest mountains, that Harris mentioned (see Figure 1) – when open eucalypt forest was their preferred habitat (Jones and Stoddart, "Reconstruction" 244; Guiler and Godard 71). Although this scene resembles parts of the Tasmanian environment, it is the context and combination of signifiers in the picture and the intertextual associations that are referenced which make it at once so familiar, so effective, and so *mis*representative of the thylacine. This image, appearing three years before the government bounty was applied, provides evidence that constructions of the thylacine circulating in Australia were even more extreme than those in European works and must certainly have influenced perceptions of the species that encouraged the desire to exterminate it.

Another image that appeared in a popular newspaper in 1899 is perhaps less menacing, partly as a result of its muted, lithographic qualities, but includes an insertion that is based on an earlier image with specific overtones of threat. The engraving in *Town and Country Journal* has little of the lean wolf-like body of fig. 4g but the figures are similarly situated in a desolate, rocky area with the prominent emblem of the dead tree **(fig. 4h)**. The insertion is a copy of H. C. Richter's head of a male in John Goulds' *The Mammals of Australia* (fig. 3a) with the same evil eye, described in many entries for the European wolf as "an obliquity in the position of the eye" (Greenwood 271). The use of this image expands on the meanings

the large picture conveys and suggests the latent behaviour of the species. The text that surrounds the picture explains that the thylacine is "fast disappearing from the earth, and has been driven back from the Tasmanian settlements to the rocky fastnesses of the island"; its wolf-like appearance is reinscribed; as is its propensity for killing sheep, which this text sees as confirming the likelihood of its extermination (Y.N.U. 29). In newspaper illustrations and articles, then, the old story of the wolf is told again – this time close to the home of the thylacine and readily accessible to the hunters, shepherds, landowners and parliamentary representatives who were directly involved in passing bills and implementing them. With a government sanctioned bounty now in operation, there was only one outcome for the thylacine: the species was sacrificed for the dubious satisfaction of limited monetary gain and to justify losses in the sheep industry.

Darwin's Theories and Extinction

The increase in negative rhetoric about the thylacine in natural history works in the second half of the nineteenth century was exacerbated by Charles Darwin's theories regarding the appearance and disappearance of species, and the reaction of those opposing his ideas. Darwin's revolutionary argument was that changes in species occur as a result of 'natural selection'.[156] That is, variations within species can be advantageous or disadvantageous, so that a selection process occurs which ensures only the survival of the 'fittest'. In *On the Origin of Species* (1859) Darwin talks of "a struggle for existence" but stresses that this struggle is "not incessant, no fear is felt, that death is generally prompt and that the vigorous, the healthy, and the happy survive and multiply". His writing gives the impression of an almost imperceptible disappearance of species over time and discouraged concern about or action to prevent extinctions, although, in a section called "Extinction caused by Natural Selection" he suggests that species that are rare can disappear quite suddenly: "any form represented by few individuals will, during fluctuations in seasons or in the numbers of its enemies, run a good chance of utter extinction". Instead, he celebrates a diversity – "ever branching and beautiful ramifications" – that is the result of extinctions, which he likens to "thin straggling branch[es] springing from a fork low down in a tree" (Darwin, *On the Origin* 143, 162-77). That is, he suggests a paradox: diversity flourishes because of

[156] Lynn Barbar points out that it was the idea of 'natural selection' that was revolutionary. The theory of evolution had been offered long before Darwin outlined his thoughts on the matter, for instance, in Chinese philosophy. It was mentioned frequently in some form or another by others in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, for example, by the French naturalist Buffon, Darwin's grandfather Erasmus Darwin, Lamarck and Cuvier (see Figure 1 and transformations). Darwin's theories, however, were supported by meticulous research, wide-ranging evidence and a revolutionary method (Barbar 251-3). Barbar also suggests that Cuvier made sure his theory did not conflict with Christian beliefs by accommodating the appearance of more and more fossils and inventing more catastrophes to explain them (217-30). Joel Black remarks: "Cuvier ... was so preoccupied with extinction that he failed to grasp the evolutionary implications suggested by fossils" (n19).

extinctions. Both the idea of a slow and gradual extinction or one apparently at the whim of the seasons encouraged a lack of concern for the future of the thylacine of the sort expressed in Gould's works. In his essay on the hermeneutics of extinction Joel Black considers that Darwin's theory "tempered, domesticated and naturalised" the causes of extinction and in affect *de-catastrophised* the process. Black points out that the theory of natural selection relies on acceptance of the inevitability of extinctions and that they are "arguably the primary agency of natural selection itself". He maintains that in discussion and perceptions of Darwin's writing the idea of extinction has been repressed and, as a result, the idea of evolution has become dominant in scientific discourse (157-9).

The tropes to be found in Darwin's work are complex and have received a variety of readings. Gillian Beer sees *On the Origin of Species* as full of "clutter and profusion ... a nature that surges onwards in hectic fecundity ... production, growth and decay are all equally needed for the continuance of life on earth" (125). In *Darwin's Worms* Adam Phillips comments on the language of death and loss Darwin uses in his first reports of the *Beagle* journey: "the anxiety informing all Darwin's detailed observations and conjectures is that everything disappears ... what the resilience and abundance of life-forms and fossils suggested, paradoxically, was how sheerly provisional life was" (45). In the second half of the nineteenth century, Darwin's theory generated theological disapproval and vigorous public reaction and in the ensuing discussions competing notions about the origins and diversity of life were expressed. However, the debates between Darwin's supporters and Creationists and publications that reflected these views very often tacitly encouraged acceptance of the extinction of species. Where Darwin's work was construed as saying that species gradually and inevitably disappear, Creationists stressed that all events in the natural world were evidence of God's divine will. In their writing, many scientists also demonstrated how evolutionary theory and traditional religion could be intertwined to produce particularly powerful imagery. For instance, although Krefft is considered one of very few Australian scientists who recognised "the compelling nature of Darwin's arguments and found himself in opposition ... to the church, Owen, Macleay and the gentry of Sydney" (Strahan 30), he states in the Introduction to his *Mammals of Australia* that "it is generally considered in conformity with the laws of the Creator, that the undue increase of prolific animals should be checked by beasts of prey, and this duty seems to have been assigned to a few small but very ferocious species, the remains of which occur in large quantities at the Wellington Caves. These Carnivores comprise the *Thylacinus* and *Sarcophilus* ... which are now completely extinct on the Australian mainland but still exist in Tasmania" (Krefft, *Mammals, 1979* 2). This statement uses both traditional and new discourses to foreshadow

ideas related to biodiversity and conservation that were to become an increasingly important part of scientific thinking in the twentieth century.

Kathleen Dugan notes that the Australian scientific community remained largely anti-Darwinist "long after Darwinian evolution had achieved general acceptance among European scientists" and that the debate about evolutionary theory within the community was particularly heated, with the evidence provided by Australian marsupials and fossils used to refute Darwin's ideas rather than support them (Dugan, "Zoological Exploration" 81-6; Mozely 413-30). In light of this information, Krefft's remarks imply that he was 'sitting on the fence'. Meanwhile, Clergyman John Dunmore Lang interpreted the fossil vertebrates found in the Wellington Caves in New South Wales in 1830 as support for a catastrophist theory argued by Cuvier and his follower, geologist William Buckland. Lang maintained that they contained the remains of animals destroyed by a divinely caused calamity, observing that "the tiger or hyena would have been a much more formidable enemy of the Bathurst settler than the despicable native dog". As Lang also mentions the remains of a hyena's den that Buckland asserts he has found in England, it is unclear whether he is referring to the fossil bones of the thylacine or not, but it is the mention of these two animals (with which the thylacine is constantly associated) as 'enemies' that is significant. Articulating attitudes to extermination in general, Lang adds: "and if the huge rhinoceros had inhabited the lagoons of Hunter's River, it might have been a much more serious work to displace him, than shoot the pelican or the emu" (Dugan, "Zoological Exploration" 81; Lang 367-8). Lang seems to be saying, 'thank God for extinctions' or even that God 'prepared the way' for European settlement.

After 1859 Darwin's supporters further developed the theory of natural selection in response to Australian evidence and despite the religious beliefs of Australian scientists. The explanations of Searles Wood, Franz Unger, Thomas Huxley and Henry Barkly for the overwhelming presence of marsupials in the country was that isolation, environmental stability and a resulting reduction in competition determined that these 'primitive' forms of life predominated (Dugan, "Zoological Exploration" 85). Their account of biological determinism explained why introduced species, diseases, modification of the environment and changes in human settlement in Tasmania could result in the extermination of species such as the thylacine. Their interpretation of Darwin's theories left little room for the development of concern about the conservation of species. Richard Owen expressed this more directly when he wrote about extinction – "that species should become extinct appears, from the abundant evidence of the fact of extinction, to be a *law* of their existence [my italics]". He mentions "several instances of the extirpation of species, certainly, probably, or possibly due to the direct agency of man", but avoids further discussion about the matter

because "it does not help us in the explanation of the majority of extinctions" (Owen, *On the Classification* 56). Owen was more interested in the big picture supplied by fossil evidence.

The same view is presented in different terms in an immensely popular natural history work by Philip Gosse called *The Romance of Natural History*.[157] Gosse begins the book with a chapter titled "The Extinct" and his pronouncements are worth quoting at length:

> For species have their appointed periods as well as individuals, viewed in the infinite mind of GOD, the Creator, from the standpoint of eternity, each form, each race, had its proper duration assigned to it ... even within the last twenty years several animals have been taken ... the sentence is gone forth against them; that their sands are running to the last grains, and that *no effort of ours* can materially prolong their existence (Gosse 1-2, my italics).[158]

In relation to the ideas of Creationists such as Gosse, Darwin states in *Origin of Species* – "no fixed law seems to determine the length of time during which any species ... endures"; however, he mentions rarity as a precursor to disappearance. The idea that extinctions occur by chance was as damaging to relatively rare species such as the thylacine as the notion that their loss was preordained, and Darwin's citing of evidence from the study of fossils that shows "species and groups of species gradually disappear, one after another, first from one spot, then from another, and finally from the world", did nothing to prevent needless or deliberate exterminations (*On the Origin* 292). Frequent references to time in texts about extinction at the turn of the century, when Darwin's ideas were largely accepted, reflect the bourgeoning interest in palaeontology. His work stimulated interest in fossils because it employed the evidence they offered to support evolutionary theory, and by stressing the importance of the history and geographic distribution of animal species. Kathleen Dugan points out that the marsupials of Australia provided important evidence for evolutionary theory and the Wellington Caves fossils helped Darwin formulate the 'law of succession of types' that proposed that living animals are similar in form to those that are extinct ("Zoological Exploration" 82).[159]

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[157] Barbar notes that Gosse was the bestselling natural history writer of 1860 (286).

[158] *The Romance of Natural History* is in the Crowther collection in the Library of Tasmaniana in Hobart. In the front of the book there is a piece of paper with the typed message: "Morton Allport, who was the owner of this book, for many years was prominent as one of the Council of the R/S [Royal Society] of Tasmania, and as one of this State's outstanding personalities. It was he who made available to the Museum of the RC of Surgeons [Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh], skeletons of the Tasmanian Aborigines, subsequently lost in the Raids of 1940. WL Crowther 5 July 1943". The last chapter in this book is titled "Parasites: Slavery among ants; Nigger-hunting". The chilling text draws parallels between ants and humans, talks of red ants and negro ants, and of their "original destinies" (Gosse 385-6). For more about the representation of and connections between ants and humans in imperial literature see Charlotte Sleigh's article "Empire of the Ants: H.G. Wells and Tropical Entomology" in *Science as Culture* 10:1 (2001).

[159] For Dugans' account of how the findings in the Caves influenced Darwinian theory (and the significance of Lang's comments on the rhinoceros) see "Darwin and *Diprotodon*".

The effect of these discoveries can be seen in *Extinct Animals* published in 1905, where Lankester seems overwhelmed by the size of the fossil record; he talks of "many thousands of kinds of extinct animals", a world that is "always changing...cities where forests grew ... animals which ... have altogether gone" and a history that has been going on for "thousands and millions of years". The difficulty in studying extinction is connected with "that clock" that moves so imperceptibly that "you will hardly notice any difference" (Lankester, *Extinct Animals* 13).[160] Like Krefft's text, Lankester's exemplifies how opposing views were reconciled – Darwin's ideas about evolution are interwoven with references to Paley's Natural Theology, producing a discourse that was accessible to both supporters and opponents of Darwin's theories. But the discoveries of fossils by geologists had opened what Buffon called "the dark abyss of time" (quoted in Griffiths 9), that in Lankester's writing seems to consume the tidy assumptions of theologists. Comments about fossils and extinctions in natural history works at the turn of the century are replete with tropes of time, transformation and destiny that did nothing to encourage preservation of threatened species. For instance, an article about the "Tasmanian Tiger-Wolfe" [sic] in Hobart's *Weekly Courier* in 1903 comments on the survival of the thylacine and the Tasmanian devil in Tasmania "by virtue of isolation" and, in striking typographical arrangement, muses:

> What power, or complex set of powers, RINGING THEIR ENDLESS CHANGES, finally combined to sweep away those carnivorous forms from the Australian world of life we may perhaps never know, any more than we can state with certainty what left the bones of elephants and other animals in the strata of Egypt (Scott, "Tasmanian Tiger-Wolfe" np).[161]

Thus the notions propounded by Darwin and his followers filtered into popular spaces, were reinterpreted and influenced the ideas and practices of ordinary people. One of these ideas was the concept of 'progress' that merged with perceptions of Darwin's theories to form social Darwinism – what Bernard Smith refers to as an "ethic of conquest" (Smith, *Spectre of Truganini* 15).

Summary

By the mid-nineteenth century the probable disappearance of the thylacine was obvious and Darwin's theories and reactions to them later discouraged concern about the species. The

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[160] In an earlier work, Lankester states that Darwin's theory was "continuously misrepresented and understood", drawing attention to the misconceptions that coloured recounting of his ideas and often gave rise to strident arguments against them (Lankester, *Advancement* 10).

[161] This article in *Weekly Courier* is illustrated by a picture of three stuffed specimens with open mouths, photographed from above and arranged to look as if they are prowling on a lawn in front of a hedge.

imagetexts considered in Figure 4 exemplify how representations could be so misleading, so inaccurate and so defamatory that they bore no resemblance to the actual animal at all. They also demonstrate, in a particularly brutal way, that both Darwinian and Creationist discourses of extinction proclaimed that it was a part of a predetermined, inexorable, 'natural' process. Many animal predators have been the subjects of human prejudice, but Orlando Wilkerson points out that "a special measure of contempt" has been reserved for wolves (23). Even William Hornaday, one of the first American conservationists of the early twentieth century whose work is discussed in Figure 6, called wolves the most "despicable of all animals in the North American continent" and felt it necessary to add that there "is no depth of meanness, treachery or cruelty to which they do not cheerfully descend" (quoted in Wilkerson 326). It is not surprising, then, that the construction of a 'Tasmanian wolf' occurred at the same time as the implementation of a government bounty on the species and a remorseless decrease in numbers of thylacines being presented for payment from 1888 until the removal of the bounty in 1909.

The experience of the thylacine in Tasmania was not unique, and a brief outline of other extinctions reveals the extent of intolerance and the damning nature of wolf naming. For instance, in the latter part of the nineteenth century between one and two million wolves were shot, trapped and poisoned in North America. In Montana, wolves became "an object of pathological hatred" with the first bounty law against them passed in 1884. When it was repealed in 1887, newspaper editorials and widely circulated pamphlets made outrageous claims about damage to the cattle industry and then the sheep industry "blame[d] every downward economic trend on the wolf", resulting in the bounty being reinstated. By 1933 the animal was virtually wiped out (Lopez 180-4). And these attitudes still exist – recent initiatives to reintroduce the wolf to Montana resulted in the display of banners with the caption: "The wolf is the Saddam Hussein of the Animal world. We don't want Saddam in Montana!!" (Knight, "On the Japanese Wolf" 139). Jody Emel points out that wild animals have long been "the target for hatred, the same hatred that launched armies and lynch mobs against human 'others'" (102). By linking the wolf with Saddam Hussein, the banners carried in Montana articulate the progress of orientalism that is first apparent in representations of the thylacine in John Gould's *The Mammals of Australia* in 1851 (see Figure 3).

The last Antarctic Wolf (or Warrah) to be seen was recorded in 1876. One of only two land animals on the Falkland Islands, the Warrah "came to present itself and approach [mariners and explorers] because it had never seen man", but soon the animal had a bounty put on it by the colonial government and its pelts became part of the American fur trade (Flannery, *A Gap in Nature* 66). David Day states that, similar to the case of the thylacine and wolf of

Montana, as the numbers and threat of the Warrah *decreased*, tales of its destructive powers *increased*, shepherds made unlikely claims of high sheep killings, and vampire associations surfaced (Day 165-6). Many now extinct or endangered animals were given the name 'wolf' although they do not belong to the species at all, for instance, the South American Pampas Maned Wolf, the Ethiopian or Abyssinian Wolf, the Antarctic Wolf and, what Day calls the "extraordinary" Tasmanian Marsupial Wolf (Day 153-4).[162]

The following chapter, however, shows that alternative images of the thylacine to those discussed in this chapter were circulating at the same time that the bounty was in force. Some of these depict a very different animal; many show the influence of Darwin's theories about the importance of habitat and the interaction of species with the environment; others display vestiges of the wolf-like images – either in their texts or in the predominance of signifiers that indicate predatory behaviour. Ironically, as thylacine numbers were radically reduced, the images in variations hint at a new, though by no means general, attitude toward the preservation of species that was not to reach useful proportions until it was far too late for the thylacine.

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[162] There are stories of wolf extinctions in many other places. The government of Newfoundland set a bounty on the White Wolf in 1842 until it was pursued to extinction (Day 158-60) and the miniature Japanese Wolf called *Shamainu* (a corruption of *yamainu* which literally means 'mountain dog') was hunted and trapped persistently until it became extinct in 1905, although the official history maintains it succumbed to disease. The Ezo wolf of the northernmost Japanese island of Hokkaido was poisoned on American advice and had disappeared by 1889 (Knight, "On the Japanese Wolf" 130-35). In myth and legend this animal was seen as a protector of humans, a sort of watchdog or guardian of the traveller in the mountains of Japan. Since its extinction, there have been numerous reports of sightings or wolf-howls, usually at dusk, across the country (Knight, "On the Japanese Wolf" 144-46). Similar reports of thylacine sightings persist in Tasmania.

variations 1877-1928

A natural history work published in Britain in the same year as the first image considered in this chapter remarks that "natural history is conveyed to the mind by a succession of pictures, and ... therefore this work endeavour[s] to represent pictorially as many objects as possible" (Pouchet iv). Images of the thylacine different from those so far discussed, most of which were made by German artists working in Britain or appeared in works originally in German, emerged in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s in a number of well-known and prolifically illustrated books running into multiple editions. Cäsar Claude notes that toward the end of the nineteenth-century popular books "set out to show their readers not only portraits of animals, but even to awaken their interest with as lively pictures as possible and with action loaded images". The thylacine is shown in dramatic situations, "no longer standing or sitting, but hunting prey" (Claude 57-8, trans. Dagmar Nordberg); however, in the illustrations in zoological and natural history works discussed here the prey is either explicitly or implicitly a native animal. The thylacine is muscular and robust, rarely menacing, and sometimes has a dog-like appearance. These illustrations are motivated by an interest in habitat, behaviour and relationships between animals indigenous to a region. In this regard they differ from previous visual representations of the thylacine that appeared in zoological and natural history works – they are naturalistic, rather than scientific or pictorial in style.

These images develop the complex poses, 'artistic' techniques, and backgrounds occasionally apparent in zoological illustrations earlier in the nineteenth century, such as those of Joseph Wolf. Some of them display the characteristics of what is known as German Expressionism – a climate of thought, rather than a style – that affected many art forms in the newly unified state of Germany after 1871.[163] Levine includes among its themes "a desire to return to the distant echoes of an animal past" (3). Works with this label express sensation through ink marks, bold and intense contrasts in texture, and explore the power and harmony in nature (Honour 385-6). Through strong, decisive lines and almost obsessive detail in the body, some of the animals in the engravings discussed in this Figure are endowed with a vigour and presence that makes them appear to move off the page. Others bring the body of the animal close to the viewer, focusing on details of fur and flesh, and also have associations with a movement called 'scientific materialism' that emerged in Germany in the mid-nineteenth century. These examples of zoological illustration in the

[163] This suggestions was made by Paul Zika, Centre for the Arts, University of Tasmania (pers. comm. November, 2004).

1880s and 1890s, then, could be seen as an exploration of the relationship between animals and humans, including the "fragile" boundary between them (Lloyd 104-5), as well as part of a shift in the visual arts and science in Germany toward the material world of nature. Other aspects of the images, such as the depiction of the thylacine preying on an array of smaller and defenceless Australian species, reflect and participate in the increasing acceptance of Darwin's theories, particularly those that relate to the interaction of animals with their environment.[164] The factors mentioned above seem to come together in various combinations to produce forceful and sometimes appealing engravings of the thylacine living in a space of its own.

Many of the illustrations discussed in this chapter, however, concentrate on the thylacine's predatory behaviour and, as carnivores were regarded as "damaging animals, whose decimation and extinction was seen as not only desirable but was supported by state aid" (Claude 58, trans. Dagmar Nordberg), encourage negative reactions to the species. In addition, the texts that accompany them often stress wolf-like characteristics that then give a menacing potential to the attitude of the animal. As a whole, the illustrations discussed in this chapter present *ambiguous* impressions of the thylacine at variance with the images in Figure 4, but many of them occur in German works not readily available in Australia. The brief readings of the illustrations that follow will assess how they are placed within the context of prevailing attitudes toward the thylacine in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The Images

The first of these variant images appears in four popular natural history works, *Brehm's Tierleben*, *The Standard Natural History*, *The Royal Natural History* and *The Riverside Natural History*; as well as in *Brehm's Zoological Atlas*, a book of illustrations, and the fourth edition of *Meyer's Konversations-Lexicon* (**var. a**). This illustration of a pair of thylacines drawn by G. Mützel and engraved on wood by C. Wendt first appears in 1877 in the second edition of *Brehm's Tierleben* (Moeller 53; Claude 53; Guiler and Godard 99) as two signatures are present on the printed engraving in this work, while in other works in which the image is used all or part of the signatures has been removed.[165] It is also used in the Mammals volume of editions published in 1883 and 1891. The models used for this

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[164] Some of the many German scientists in the second half of the nineteenth century who embraced various aspects of Darwin's theories, particularly the ideas of evolution and natural selection, include biologist and zoologist Ernst Haeckel, zoologist Anton Dohrn, physician Ludwig Büchner, physiologist and naturalist Karl Vogt, and zoologist August Weismann (Hatch passim).

[165] This illustration in *Brehm's Tierleben* replaced the wood engraving by Kretschmer discussed in Figure 4.

illustration of the "Beutelwolf" (Marsupial wolf) are not discussed in the book, although the text mentions the behaviour of thylacines in captivity. According to Moeller, the first thylacine arrived at the Berlin Zoo in 1864 and lived for only four months before it was mounted for the Museum für Naturkunde at Humbolt University in Berlin; another male purchased by the Zoo in 1871 lived for two years (Moeller 143-4).[166] It is this latter animal that was the model for Mützel's illustration (Claude 55; Opermann 65) but the position of the figures and their relation to each other seems to be derived from previous images. In a catalogue of Joseph Wolf's work in Palmer's biography of the artist, it is asserted that there are a number of illustrations in *Brehm's Tierleben* "copied from Wolf's designs in *The Proceedings of the Zoological Society*" but that they have "in some cases been slightly altered, and other backgrounds and other accessories introduced" (*Joseph Wolf* 291-328). This is exactly the relationship between Mützel's wood engraving and Wolf's lithograph of the pair of thylacines in the *Proceedings* (fig. 3a) – the positions of the animals are similar, but Mützel's image has reversed them; both show figures on a bank, but the standing animal in *Tierleben* steps up rather than down; one animal is lying and in both images the other is standing, but in *Tierleben* the animal lying down sniffs at its body rather than gazing at the viewer as in Wolf's illustration. A background of grasstrees and rocks, rather than grasses and leaves, re-situates Mützel's pair in a colonial environment.

The forms of the pair in Mützel's illustration, however, are different from those that have appeared before. They are handsome, well-muscled animals with large, strong heads and bodies faintly reminiscent of the thylacines in Gould's work. They also resemble German shepherd dogs and, like the other representations in variations, they are presented in a naturalistic rather than pictorial style as they are placed in, rather than against, a background of foliage and rocks. They embody power and vigour in their easy, sensual bearing and the text in *Tierleben* reinforces this impression, stating that at night the thylacine is jaunty, spry and even wild and dangerous, and not afraid of fighting. Although the "decimation" of sheep flocks and poultry is mentioned, as is the confinement of the animal to "some mountainous parts", it is asserted that "he" is "still found in large numbers".[167] Tropes of oppression creep into the description with the word "felsspalte", meaning rock crevice, which is used in relation to the retreat of the species to the mountains. The reader's view is thus directed to the threat the animal poses in a more subtle way than that projected in the

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[166] Curiously, Moeller's table of thylacines in zoos does not include the 1871 specimen in Germany or any other thylacines alive in Europe in the 1870s when this illustration first appeared (158).

[167] This statement contrasts with comments in works emanating from Britain and Australia, in which the thylacine is stated to be 'rare'. For instance, in *Australasia*, A.R. Wallace notes "it was formerly very abundant and destroyed great quantities of poultry and sheep, but having been persistently hunted and trapped, is now getting scarce in most districts" (245) and in *Australian Zoology* by G. Metcalfe, where it is stated that thylacines are only found in the remoter parts of the colony (34).

previous edition of this work, where the species is compared to the wolf. At the end of the text, human domination of the species is epitomised in a paragraph on the Beutelwolf's behaviour in captivity: "they run for hours up and down their cage without any obvious notice of the outside world, or they lie or sleep, apathetically, on the same spot. Their clear, dark brown eyes stare emptily towards the observer ..." (Brehm, *Brehm's Tierleben* 690-2, trans. Cathi Greve). Knowing that this comment probably refers to the actual situation of the animal on which the figures were modelled affects my perception of Mützel's image. The vegetation in the picture fades and the thylacine lying in the foreground sniffing or licking its leg acquires the pungent smell of an animal imprisoned in a concrete cage. The standing figure in the picture repeats and then repeats again the lifting of its foot, while its eyes are forever averted from the spectator. The eyes of the other animal continually glaze, close, and open in eternal boredom.

While the appearance of the thylacines in this illustration and the name "Beutelhund", mentioned in the first paragraph of Brehm's text, render that imagetext somewhat ambiguous, *The Royal Natural History*, which also uses this image, states that "this creature is extraordinarily wolf-like" (Lydekker, *Royal History* 269) and the other major British reference that features this illustration, *The Riverside Natural History*, refers to the thylacine both as "zebra wolf" and as "the pouched dog" (Kingsley 43). In nineteenth century natural history books the dog is constructed as an invaluable companion to 'man' and the species as a whole is said to possess intelligence, courage and vivacity; to be a devoted friend and faithful servant; an "integral part of mankind"; and even to be "more docile than man, [and] more obedient than any other animal" in its domestic state (Wright, *Mammalia, 1892* 409; Goldsmith, *History Earth, 1855* 380). In a completely contrary description to that given for wolves, E. Percival Wright states: "volumes might be written ... relating all the extraordinary stories of which dogs are heroes". But in another book Wright qualifies his remarks by suggesting that breeding is the key to keeping the dog "true" (Wright, *Cassell's Concise* 98), while Goldsmith refers to dogs in "deserted and uncultivated countries" that "partake of the disposition of the wolf" (Goldsmith, *History Earth, 1855* 381). Being 'wild' and indigenous to what was considered an exotic, "uncultivated" location, the thylacine was unlikely to be elevated to the position occupied by the dog.

The perceived strangeness of Australia's animals appears to have stimulated the imagination of German writers and artists, with Brehm's work suggesting that water-dwelling platypus was a part of the thylacine's diet. This interesting supposition is articulated in an image that appeared in *Cassell's Natural History* in 1883 and subsequent editions (**var. b**). Although the artist and engraver are not known, the style is typical of the German artists of this period that are discussed in this chapter and shows either a very large platypus or a tiny thylacine

wrestling on a riverbank. As in some other illustrations of German origin (but never in British images) the sexual organs of this male thylacine are prominent, and the text mentions the female's pouch, implying virility and fertility (see transformations for comments on the lack of a pouch in images). This image is the first so far discussed in which the thylacine is explicitly depicted engaged in a 'natural' act in relation to other indigenous species and it does not include plants such as fir trees that have significance in terms of European animals. The emphasis is placed, then, not on its predatory habits in relation to introduced animals, but its relationship with those for which it is a natural predator. However, while the image is markedly different to the wolf-like images in the preceding chapter it is described as having a "foxy head", despite the heavy, relatively broad-muzzled head of the figure, and earlier in the text the animal is said to be "the size of a jackal" (Duncan 215-7). These references activate coding for 'vermin', generate intertextual references to species in European contexts, and encourage negative attitudes toward the thylacine. This reading is reinforced by the fact that the platypus was considered a particularly fascinating and 'harmless' animal in the nineteenth century.

The image in *Brockhaus Konversations-Lexicon* 1884, an edition of a German encyclopaedia first published in 1796 and the model for the British *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* and *Encyclopaedia Americana*, is the first of several that delineate fur and body in particular detail (**var. c**). The illustration is also used in Dutch and Polish encyclopaedias in the late nineteenth century. Moeller attributes the image to 'Neumann', but it bears a great resemblance to the following image by Friedrich Specht (var. d) in fur detail and face and body characteristics. This cat-like animal is hunched and withdrawn as if retreating from something fearful and poised to run. It is not the fearful predator or snarling, defensive animal of Figure 2 or 4, but a far more innocuous, even shy, creature. Unfortunately, this edition of *Brockhaus Konversations-Lexicon*, as well as the encyclopaedias, were difficult to find in Australian and international libraries, so I am unable to discuss any texts that accompany the illustration.

A similar image first appears in a large book called *The Natural History of Animals* in *Word and Picture* by Carl Vogt and Friedrich Specht in 1887, translated into English by George Chisholm, and later in a French edition and in *Brehm's Life of Animals* (**var. d**). Vogt was one of a group of scientists who adopted the metaphysical position of 'materialism' (sometimes called 'scientific naturalism') that stressed the centrality of the body, maintained that science was based on "observable reality", opposed traditional religious beliefs regarding the creation of the world and supported the theories of Darwin (Gregory, *Scientific Materialism* x-xi). Marx, however, critiqued the ideas of the 'father' of the movement, Ludwig Feuerbach, on the grounds that "the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in

the form of the *object or of contemplation*, but not as *sensuous human activity, practice*, not subjectively" (Marx 1). Vogt was a major populariser of science in Germany, seeing his task to disseminate "the new knowledge of comparative anatomy, comparative physiology, natural history and zoological geography" (Gregory, *Scientific Materialism* 51-79). With their materialist focus, however, his books generated very different messages to most British works of the nineteenth century that stressed a link between God and nature. The wood engraving after Specht, shows a thylacine with a thick, slightly shaggy coat and a heavy body, but the raised paw and downcast eyes produce the impression of a shy animal, not at all consistent with the text that begins with the words "the jaws of the Tasmanian Wolf". The model for Specht's drawing is not mentioned, but there were a number of specimens in museums and universities in Berlin, Munich, Halle, Heidelberg and Mainz in the 1880s that could have influenced this illustration, although none take this particular position in their taxidermy form (Sleightholme CD1).[168] The attitude of the figure is relaxed, but curious, and the denotation of fur is so convincing it almost demands touching; the darker hair that forms the stripes appears brushed onto the page; the shadows and guard hairs accentuate this compellingly tactile image. This animal is on the move, looking intently at an object below it that is out of the viewer's sight. The surrounding vegetation of broken branches or roots, stony ground and several grass clumps is a specific example of what was believed to be the species' natural habitat.

The brief text beneath this image makes much of the thylacine's resemblance to a dog rather than a wolf, but it concludes with the terse observation "at the present day it is restricted to the mountainous districts of the interior, and is, in fact, nearly extinct. It is fierce, but stupid, and its pursuit and destruction are accordingly easy" (Vogt 202-3). This image/text is therefore disjunctive, the soft fur and the brutal rhetoric fight with each other for the viewer's attention. The realism of the pelt arouses what Leppert terms "the desire and pleasure – of *looking*" or scopophilia; he maintains that still life paintings, for instance, evoke smell, taste, hearing, and touch and relate us to the material world. Leppert also suggests that in certain cases a picture in this genre may 'ask' a viewer to "condemn the very thing [the viewer] takes pleasure in" and comments that "an art that builds into its program a judgment about looking is a political art, one invested in long-standing debates about the connection of pleasure and desire to knowledge and power" (44-5). The text in this work invites the viewer to condemn the thylacine at the same time as the picture excites the senses,

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[168] Most of the mounts in German institutions in the 1880s are in conventional standing positions; that is, with one foreleg and one rear leg slightly in front of the other. See Sleightholme, *International Thylacine Specimen Database*, CD3 for images of these mounted specimens and others in Europe at that time. None of these could be positively identified as providing models for the images in this chapter; to do so would require further research into the history of some images that is beyond the scope of this project.

as do examples of Orientalist art such as those discussed by Linda Nochlin in " The Imaginary Orient", mentioned in Figure 3. Nochlin points out that on the "brink of destruction" remnants of disappearing ways of life in the East were *reinterpreted* as "subjects of aesthetic delectation", as well as "irredeemably different ... and culturally inferior" than those who constructed the picture (127). This engraving suggests that the practice Nochlin discusses has a parallel in relation to zoological images.

Claude's statement that "in all illustrations from the end of the nineteenth century, the predatory aspect of the pouch-wolf is highlighted" (58, trans. Dagmar Nordberg) is somewhat compromised by the German images discussed so far; however, in a British natural history work, *The World's Inhabitants or, Mankind, Animals and Plants* by G.T. Bettany that appeared in 1889, the thylacine's resemblance to a dog is noted and it is linked with sheep killing, while connections to the wolf exacerbate this suggestion of threat (**var. e**). This work is partly aimed at children and the preface comments on the "lavish" illustrations, noting: "pictures proverbially teach better than words" (Bettany iv). The brief text about the thylacine states only "the thylacine, or Tasmanian Wolf, has many features of resemblance to a Dog, and will attack sheep at night. It lives in the highest mountains of Tasmania". On a previous page the dingo has been compared with the wolf: "the Dingo hunts in packs, and is very like a wolf – treacherous, revengeful and cunning" (9333-6). The dingos that are chasing emus in the illustration in this work look like wolves and the muscular thylacine in a stalking posture is also pictured looking toward a native animal. Despite the mention of sheep killing in the text for the thylacine, when both images are considered with their texts, the representation of the thylacine is slightly less negative. The powerful signifier of the wolf in the imagetext for the dingo is the strongest factor here, while the thylacine retains its difference. Compared to representations in German works, Claude's reference to European attitudes and the bounty applies more to British representations in the intensity of negative images projected for the thylacine.

In an illustration in a popular encyclopaedia by C. Annandale published in Britain in the 1890s the thylacine takes its place with an array of other Australian marsupials, monotremes, and edentates in an arrangement and positions that can be compared to those given to the animals in fig. 1c (**var. f**). Like earlier French illustrations, it also includes anatomical drawings, one inevitably showing the numerous young of a possum. In this picture the thylacine is depicted in a dominant relationship with the other animals illustrated, having prominently displayed sexual organs, a striding attitude and a confident demeanour rather than the awkward, half-crouch and backward-facing sitting position of the animal in the 1820 compilation of figures. The description of the thylacine in this encyclopaedia is only found by locating the alphabetical listing for Tasmanian Wolf which then refers the reader to

the entry for "Wolf". Under that heading there are brief comments on the "Common Wolf (*Canis lupus*) of Europe", the "Black Wolf (*C. occidentalis*) of the New World", the Prairie Wolf, the Coyote, the Aard Wolf of South Africa and the Tasmanian or Pouched Wolf that "commits much havoc among sheep, but has now been well-nigh exterminated by the colonists" (Annandale 334). The thylacine is not mentioned at all under 'Marsupalia', although an 'Australian hyena' is listed. This listing under 'wolf' once again supports my conclusion that representations in British works were potentially far more damaging as regards the formation of attitudes toward the thylacine than those in German works.

Another British work, *The Concise Knowledge Natural History* by Richard Lydekker and R. Bowdler-Sharpe et al. published in 1897, has a similarly disturbing text while the image that illustrates it has an ambivalent quality (**var. g**).[169] One of the illustrators of the work is German and, although the signature is not clear, a 'K' perhaps for 'Keulemans', a well-known zoological illustrator, may indicate that German artistic influence was involved. According to the preface, the text was written by "distinguished authorities" in the "several departments of Zoological science" and "original drawings [were] made and reproduced expressly for the work", which is for "busy people" and students (Lydekker et al., *Concise Knowledge* Preface). The small illustration of the thylacine has some similarity with Specht's image (var. d) in the position of its limbs, but it is not as highly detailed or finished and so does not attract the viewer with its sensuality. Unlike var. d, the figure's face has a slightly menacing expression that is reinforced by a text that states that the thylacine is large and has a wolf-like head. The first sentence of the entry encourages the viewer to look at the image: "its large size, generally wolf-like form, and striped body are sufficient to distinguish at a glance the thylacine or Tasmanian wolf (*Thylacinus cynocephalus*) from all its kindred". The thylacine is also called "this ferocious animal" and the text states that "at the present day sheep are the chief prey of the thylacine, as these are both more numerous and easier to capture than the diprotodont marsupials on which it formerly lived" (Lydekker et al., *Concise Knowledge* 207). The entry for the Tasmania Devil that immediately follows is more damning, noting that this animal "is even more sanguinary and destructive" and that it kills sheep and fowls for "the mere pleasure of the slaughter, long after the appetite is satiated". As can be seen from the analysis of images in Figure 2 and 4, this kind of text is common in British books designed for a general audience. In the climate of the late nineteenth century, "busy people" who did not take the time to read more widely or examine other sources could imagine that both the thylacine and the Devil deserved to be exterminated.

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[169] The title page states that the 530 illustrations in this work are by J.Keulemans, F.H. Michel, Frank C. Aldworth and other artists.

In volume 2 of the 6th edition of *Meyer's Konversations-Lexicon* published in 1905, there is a picture that shows a range of unusual fauna from Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea in a contrived environment and with the thylacine's position in a hierarchy of species made explicit (**var. h**). The taut sinuous body and predator's gaze of the thylacine creeping onto a rock threatens an array of harmless animals in this highly coloured plate that displays advances in photographic and print reproduction in Germany in the late nineteenth century. The thylacine has the robust form apparent in other illustrations in variations, but encapsulates aspects of the texts in many of the works that accompany them in a new way. In this picture the place of the thylacine in the animal community of Australasia is made explicit and, as no introduced animals are shown, the ecological balance that would be maintained by the thylacine's continued existence is implied. In reality, despite the new discourse that stressed the inter-relation of native species, this dominant predator was the victim of old beliefs and entrenched antagonisms and with the extermination of many top predators in colonised countries, imbalances occurred in the eco-systems of those regions. The brief encyclopaedic text remarks on the "very peculiar fauna" of the Australian region and only mentions the picture as showing the "distinct types of these very well-known marsupials" (Meyer, *Meyers Grosses Lexicon* 175, trans. Dagmar Nordberg). This image is a composite of old and new discourses and texts; it shows the representation of the thylacine in transition.

Finally, another illustration that falls into the category of what Claude refers to as showing the animal in his "way of living", especially hunting prey (57-8), appears in *Harmsworth Natural History: A complete Survey of the Animal Kingdom* and *Wildlife of the World: A Descriptive Survey of the Geographical Distribution of Animals* (**var. i**). The illustration is an example of photolithography – soon to become the most common medium of illustration in books, journals and newspapers – by the German illustrator W. Kunhert, and both works are by Richard Lydekker and published in 1910. Because it is reproduced from a photograph of a watercolour and pencil drawing, the image has a softer effect than the printed engravings that have been, until this time, more prevalent in zoological works. The thylacine has its head down sniffing the ground and tail taut and extended in a typical hunting attitude. Similar to other images discussed in this chapter the form of the figure is thick, robust and relatively accurately proportioned. The text in *Harmsworth's Natural History* states that the thylacine is "universally known in Australia as the Tasmanian wolf, although in works on natural history frequently referred to as the thylacine". It reinforces the former attitude by commenting, "in appearance it is extraordinarily wolf-like", but then includes a long comparison of the thylacine and the European wolf by zoologist, Sir Ray Lankester. This explanation addresses many of the issues discussed at the beginning of Figure 4 and

indicates how informative, objective and undramatic popular science could be at its best. However, much of this even-handedness is undone in the last paragraph where Lankester is quoted as saying that "when one watches the Tasmanian wolf, one comes to the conclusion that it is stupid and of much lower intelligence than the common wolf. Its appearance, ways and movements suggest the fancy that it is a kangaroo masquerading as a wolf, and not very successful in the part" (Lydekker et al., *Harmsworth* 897). The text in *Wildlife of the World* also concentrates on thylacine-wolf comparisons, but then fastens on the tail, claiming that due to its qualities "in this respect the Tasmanian wolf approximates to crocodiles and other reptiles" that are of a "low and primitive type". At one stage, the young of the species are referred to as "little abortions" no bigger than young rats and, ultimately, the fact that they are "becoming comparatively scarce" is not viewed as surprising, nor as cause for concern (Lydekker, *Wild Life* 217-8). Despite the relative 'naturalness' of the image in these works, the text renders it strange, inadequate and unattractive; and exemplifies the ambivalent attitudes existing in Europe at the time toward the thylacine and other predators. Early twentieth-century descriptions like these use scientific discourse, rather than popular mythology, to make their point and combine different parts of the world in a metanarrative of the past. They transmit old ideas about animals in words that exploit the novelty of Darwin's ideas, the results of global expansion and what was perceived as the profound wisdom and authority emanating from new fields of knowledge.

Summary

An 1880s picture book for children, *Routledge's Imperial Natural History*, encapsulates the unchanging attitudes toward various animal species at the end of the nineteenth century and also the ambiguous notions projected by images in this chapter. Wolves are constructed as strong, as "cruel brutes", as cowards and as cannibalistic. They remain a perceived threat to domestic animals and their extermination is seen as necessary so that "there will be no savage beasts to kill sheep and kids, or to rob farmyards and hen-roosts". Horses and dogs are represented as "docile, loving and useful", as well as faithful companions if treated with care and kindness. Significantly, the pages that deal with these animals are headed "The Noble Hunter". A section on birds, however, is titled "Cruel Sport" and raises issues that could be extended to other animals. It begins: "it is sad to know that some of the sports by which people amuse themselves are cruel, and that animals are often made to suffer needless pain, that men may boast of their skill in shooting, driving, fishing, trapping, or training them". The text goes on to decry the shooting of pigeons released only for the sport of shooting, but perceives shooting wild birds and animals as acceptable because they are "in a state of freedom", have "fair play" and are usually "brought down" by one good shot, as well

as being "numerous" (Anon., *Imperial History* 10, 16, 74). Attitudes in Tasmania were similar. In an article in *Town and Country Journal* in 1870, a visitor to Hobart mentions the domestic pets that he "could see at a glance were legion, numbering horse, dog, cat, fowl and all living things". He remarks on the Derwent River "slumber[ing] before us", Mt Wellington "with its snowy cap" and "a grand flight of peafowls, perhaps numbering a hundred" passing over his head; but the accompanying engraving is labelled "Wild Duck Shooting in Tasmania" (Anon., "My Holiday Trip" 17).

The results of conflicting attitudes for different categories of animals and ignorance of, or disregard for, the need for maintaining biodiversity are revealed in subtle ways. For instance, the *Handbook of Tasmania* 1887 quotes "Mr Krefft" (see fig. 3e) who considered that the number of kangaroo species in Tasmania was "very small indeed" because they had been greatly reduced, chiefly by the *ferocious* tigers and devils. But in the next paragraph, the practice of shooting wallaby, kangaroo and wombat for their skins is commented upon, as is the nuisance of deer, rabbit and hare for the stockowners who find the greatest difficulty in keeping them under control (Just 91). In this case, a difference in attitude toward the 'domestic' and the 'wild' animal is apparent, rather than between native and introduced. In the meantime, between 1888 and 1909 the thylacine was being steadily reduced in numbers through a government bounty scheme that promised a month's wages for "every full-grown Native tiger destroyed". A circular by the Minister for Lands and Works informed trappers that "only snares made of hemp will retain the tiger when caught as the animal is so restless when in the snare, twisting round and round, that it breaks the wire and escapes" (Braddon np). Guiler and Godard say that the decision to implement the bounty was "based on wildly exaggerated claims, which in reality covered up bad farming practice" (122); Paddle's extended research confirms this view (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 139-67). The imagetexts in British zoological and natural history works and to a lesser extent those in German works during the time of the bounty were complicit in the development and acceptance of these "wild claims". Some German images, however, seem to project alternate attitudes such as those that were expressed in relation to birds. These representations might have enlightened some viewers to the intrinsic worth of every animal and the need to ensure the survival of species native to Tasmania, but only one of the works in which these images appear is held in a library collection on the island today.

Images discussed in the next two chapters were produced through an entirely different representational medium – photography. The assumption of veracity that this new medium evoked was a crucial element in how the illustrations were read. The 'naturalism' of German engravings discussed in this chapter prepared the viewer for less pictorial illustrations, for varied backgrounds and for noticing the situation in which the thylacine was

pictured. The more relaxed attitudes and positions of the figures also prefigure those sometimes found in photographs of the thylacine taken in zoos around the world; however, those were often constructed to show the species in a traditional profile view. Photographs present a new set of processes, claims and limitations – some of which were overcome in surprising ways.

FIGURE 5

THE CAPTIVE THYLACINE **1900-1938**

The medium of photography is generally perceived as fundamentally different from engraving and lithography because it carries the impression of a closer relationship between referent and signifier. This affinity is evoked in a number of ways. For instance, Ian Jeffrey states that photography was a discovery rather than an invention of "the capacity of nature to register its own images" and that while artists made illustrations, photographs were said to be *taken* or captured (10). In a similar vein, Susan Sontag writes "the painter constructs, the photographer discloses" (*On Photography* 93). Roland Barthes has famously pronounced photography to be "literally an *emanation* of the referent. From the real body, which was there, proceed radiations which ultimately touch me, who am here" [my italics]. He cites the Latin meaning of 'photograph' – *imago lucis opera expressa* – "which is to say: image revealed, 'extracted,' 'mounted,' 'expressed' (like the juice of a lemon) by the action of light". And, writing about what photography means, Sontag comments "photographed images do not seem to be statements about the world so much as pieces of it" (Barthes, *Camera Lucida* 80-1; Sontag, *On Photography* 4-5).

The most powerful effect of the photographs in Figure 5 emerges from interactions between the denotative claims of photography, the location of the animals in the pictures, and the assertions of the scientific frame in which they are found. All photographs of living thylacines were taken in zoos and early images often include distracting or undesirable material. Later, such details were edited out, as occurred with photographs of other subjects, and sometimes "composite pictures of preferred worlds" were constructed (Jeffrey 15-8). These 'adjustments' may have been made because some elements in these early photographs operate as what Barthes calls a *punctum*, an unintentional detail that "pricks" the observer, that arouses sympathy, almost tenderness (*Camera Lucida* 42). For, while the institution of the zoo in the early twentieth century still projected appealing ideas about Imperial power – demonstrating, as it does, human control over animals – contemporary readings of the photographs may have been compromised by a number of other factors. First, concerns about the treatment of animals and the disappearance of species were emerging; second, the messages that the images generate are often in conflict with their texts; and third, when the photographs in these works are considered in relation to previous illustrations of the thylacine they take on a particular significance. That is, photographs of the thylacine not only carry the claim of 'truth' inherent in the medium and the frame, but the way they

picture the form, situation, attitude and behaviour of the thylacine challenges previous illustrations that demonised the animal.

The rectangles of grey or sepia tones inserted in typed text discussed in this and the following sections are now showing signs of age, although their reproduction in a book, as Sontag points out, guarantees longevity to the fragile objects from which they derive, as well as exposure to a wide audience. Most of the photographs in Figure 5 appear to be just what they seem – 'captured moments', although the effect of changes in size and amplification of detail from one publication to another can be significant. Framed by knowledge of the thylacine's disappearance, these images of the animal in zoos around the world, the last of the species seen by humans in locations outside Tasmania, become charged with meaning, redolent with connotations. They are a documentation of the thylacine in zoos, a record of the process of extinction, and a *momento mori* of the species. As pictures of the few thylacines that survived into the early twentieth century, they epitomise the results of hostility towards the species and provide sad and fascinating subjects for analysis.

The Impact of Photography

Two of the earliest photographs of the thylacine in natural history works show animals in their enclosure at National Zoological Park in Washington DC in front of a doorway with steps of large stones. One appears in *Nature: A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Science* in 1904 and the other in the *Report of the Smithsonian Institution,* 1904. The Washington Zoo received a female with three pouch-young in 1902. One of the young died nine days after arrival, another died in 1905. An adult male was purchased in July 1904 but died, along with the remaining female pouch-young, in 1909.[170] The publication date of the *Report* implies that the photograph shows the original female and one of her offspring, or two of the young animals brought to the zoo that had grown to early maturity.[171] The National Zoological Park was situated on 167 acres of land near Washington, "beautifully diversified by hill and valley, forest and stream" and administered by the Smithsonian Institution. The *Illustrated Guide Book to the National Zoological Park* 1902 notes that many animals lived in "natural surroundings instead of being cooped in a narrow cage" and that the "slightest advantage in culture, housing and general environment [was] unhesitatingly adopted" (Evans, *Illustrated*

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[170] This date is contradicted in Moeller's notes on Washington Zoo's holdings where he states that the male arrived at the zoo in 1904 but died "only several months later due to an infection of the bowel/intestines" (150, trans. Cathi Greve). Wemmer makes it clear that it was the male "offspring" that succumbed to "hemorrhagic enteritis" only two months after the original female's demise (2).

[171] If the *Report* was published after July 1904 it is possible the photograph may show the female and the new male arrival, however, as there is little indication of the sex or age of the animals in the picture or the text, the precise identity of these thylacines cannot be established.

Guide 5). The five thylacines at Washington Zoo between 1902 and 1909 were kept in the Lion House or large enclosure for predators and, according to an article in *Washington Post*, they were the "centre of attention" on their arrival (Wemmer 2; Moeller 150-8). In relation to photographs of the thylacine in other zoos, these photographs support the claims made by the *Guide* and indicate the elevated status given the species – the enclosure is impressive; it looks clean and contains natural materials; the animals have glossy coats and their bodies seem in excellent condition. They are also the most distinct and carefully composed photographs of any in zoological works in this period and, contrary to most imagetexts produced in other mediums, they suggest the thylacine was an animal worth nurturing.

The small image that appears in the journal *Nature* contains many of the elements found individually in other photographs in the period discussed, for instance, a doorway, a log, a wall and hard, sparse floor but, paradoxically, it is an anomaly because it contains all these elements and because of its balanced composition (**fig. 5**). It appears in the 'Notes' section of the international journal, where each paragraph deals with one of a variety of subjects from the death announcements of scientific personalities, to news of searches for lost expeditions, parliamentary bills pertinent to science, discoveries, and notice of scientific society meetings. The photograph is bracketed by an eight-line text and is the only picture on the page, with surrounding notes referring to subjects distant from the subject of the photograph, so that the imagetext about the thylacine is isolated and its importance intensified. The editor explains that Professor H.F. Osborn has sent the "interesting" photograph of the "Tasmanian wolf" to the journal. In 1904 Osborn was a director of the American Museum of Natural History in New York and had been among the founders of the New York Zoological Society in 1895 from which the Wildlife Conservation Society traces its origin (Wildlife *About the Bronx Zoo*). Despite this alliance, the text takes a purely scientific stance, objectifying the figure in the photograph and encouraging inspection of the body as a skeletal 'system' by stating that the photographer, Mr. E.T. Keller, has observed "in the resting position the stiff tail is used to support the animal". This remark also emphasises the 'veracity' of the medium: the viewer is encouraged to believe he/she is seeing the 'real' thylacine, in a position not "recorded" elsewhere. It interprets and explains for the reader the function and relevance of the position the thylacine has taken (Anon., "Notes" 587).[172] This text is also one of few considered so far that speaks directly and exclusively to the image it accompanies. The words guide and limit the viewer's gaze by suggesting what is "interesting" about the picture but, compositionally, the dark space that

[172] The "curious habit" is later remarked upon in another British publication, *Natural History in Zoological Gardens* published in 1905, along with the thylacine's "gloomy, distrustful and unintellectual appearance" (Beddard 147-8).

implies an open door is the focal point in this scene. The bare branch of the log that bends from the tip of the thylacine's tail and protrudes exactly parallel to its length is a powerful visual distracter away from the animal's body. Jeffery comments that in a photograph called "The Open Door" in the first book of photographs ever published, *The Pencil of Nature*, elements in the scene constructed by William Talbot merely *suggest* and memory does the rest – "the doorway awaits an occupant" (10, 21). Indeed, the doorway in Keller's photograph, read in conjunction with the captive thylacine, suggests the possibility of escape, if only from the scrutiny of the spectator. All but the most determinedly focused gaze could resist following this line of sight and it is the first of many photographs of the thylacine in zoos in which a doorway is a significant element.

Natural history was still a popular subject at the turn of the twentieth century and *Nature* may have attracted many readers on the periphery of scientific endeavour. As it contains articles about meteorology, geology, medicine and physics, it was certainly read by those interested in fields other than zoology and their responses to the picture may have been more relaxed, more capricious or more transgressive than the editors of the journal imagined. Did their (un)disciplined gaze perceive the animal's curious look toward something beyond the lower left edge of the picture? Did they register the possibility that the thylacine may have been about to disappear through the doorway? Or did they only see *Thylacinus cynocephalus* in a "resting position"? How many different ways can this photograph of a thylacine enclosed in a zoo operate? While the small, carefully composed rectangular picture is imprisoned by printed words that attempt to focus and limit the viewer's perception, the photograph seems to demand a wandering eye and a reaction to the resonances it generates.

The second photograph, in a report from the National Zoological Park, projects considerably different impressions, framed as it is by a publication and text closely associated with the institution from which it derives. It shows a pair of thylacines with their bodies at right angles to each other (**fig. 5a**). From the point of view of zoological illustration this would seem the perfect image: it shows both profile and frontal aspects of the animal. But there is much more to this picture than is contained in a standard zoological illustration. The heavy vertical and horizontal stones that frame the closed door to the sleeping quarters of the Lion House have a monumental appearance consistent with Middle Eastern sites and 'ancient history', particularly structures like the pyramids and other tombs that were such a popular subject in the early twentieth century. The heaviness of the massive stones is accentuated by a scattering of leaves in the foreground; the lines of the doorway mimic the animals'

positions, while the weight of the smooth stones contrasts with the densely furred coats of the thylacines, and their size overpowers the animals.[173] But at the same time, these structures – somewhere between built and hewn and 'natural' – invest the thylacines with dignity and importance as they gather the intertextual ramifications of phrases associated with architectural elements such as these, for instance, 'ancient world', 'timeless edifice' and 'King of the Beasts'. Along with the gloss on the fur and shine on the noses of the figures and their dignified stance, an impression of *noble* animals is projected.[174]

The text in the *Report* is brief, mentioning the "Tasmanian zebra wolf"[175] among 140 other specimens that made up the "considerable additions" to the collection secured for the Park by the United States consul Dr F.W. Gooding in Newcastle, New South Wales.[176] The gift included a Tasmanian devil, a pair of black swans and a wedge-tailed eagle, but the zebra wolf is mentioned first, as if the most important of the "unusually interesting fauna" from Australia (Baker, "Report" 69, 21).[177] An entry in the *Illustrated Guide to the National Zoological Park 1902* calls the newly arrived Zebra Wolf "the rarest animal in the Zoo" and mentions that the female with young are "the only ones ever exhibited in this country". It points out that, although it resembles a wolf "in appearance and habits", the thylacine is a "true" marsupial that carries its young in a pouch like the kangaroo but owing to its "destructiveness to sheep" it will soon be "as extinct as the dodo".[178] The introduction to the *Guide* states that the Zoo "was established for the preservation of the native animals that were threatened with extermination" largely by the efforts of William Hornaday, and that its existence was opposed by subsequent Senators and Congressmen who were unable to see any benefits derived from preserving them (Evans, *Illustrated Guide* 20, 5). A later book in

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[173] A close-up of this photograph appears in a number of secondary sources, for instance, (Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 52; Moeller 166). This cropping plays down the impact of the structure behind the figures of the animals, but the effect of the massive blocks is even more obvious in an enlarged version that appears on page 172 of Guiler (1998).

[174] Mullan and Marvin include photographs of "exotic animals in exotic buildings" in their book *Zoo Culture* and point out that these buildings were designed to produce a sense of the exotic, rather than to benefit the animals (88-9). The facilities in the Zoological Park in Washington, however, were far more amenable than the small cages at London Zoo (see fig. 5b and c).

[175] The name 'Zebra wolf' draws attention to the thylacine's stripes and would appear to have less negative connotations than when the word 'wolf' stands alone, or in conjunction with the place name 'Tasmanian'. See fig. 6b and c for the significance of stripes and a word about zebras.

[176] In 1903 the National Zoological Park housed 1000 animals (Baker, *Report* 65).

[177] Frank Baker, the superintendent of the Zoo and writer of the *Report* for 1903, was not always so restrained in his comments about the thylacine. He is quoted in an article in the *Washington Post* in 1903 as saying that, because they had no competition and an abundance of food, Australian animals were the "stupidest animals in the world" which accounted for "their rapid extermination ... by the British". In the same article he calls the thylacine a "natural-born idiot" (quoted in Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 205-6). The New York *Herald* described a thylacine in Washington Zoo as "a queer animal" that was really a wolf and "quite fierce" (Anon., "Only Marsupial Wolf in America" np).

[178] There appears to be no illustration of the Zebra Wolf in the 1902 *Guide*, although Moeller attaches the citation to the image (166). As the photograph shows two reasonably mature animals and, according to Moeller's discussion of the young that arrived at the zoo in September 1902, they were only "as big as rats", it is unlikely that the photograph was taken in 1902. I have deduced, therefore, that this appearance of the image in the *Report* for 1903 is the first occurrence of the photograph in a publication.

the Smithsonian series, called *Wild Animals In and Out of the Zoo*, reveals that the National Zoological Park had its genesis in a collection of living specimens brought to serve as models for taxidermists, including William Hornaday, at the Smithsonian Institution. These animals were afterwards killed or forwarded to the Philadelphia Zoo but, due to public interest in the animals, it was thought that a zoological park would "not only be the means of exhibiting animals to people who wanted to see them, but would also increase their interest in them, and the zoo itself might even be of value in breeding and perpetuating some of the nearly gone species" (Mann 2-3). There is a discernible difference in attitudes toward animals in American publications when compared with most British and Australian works.

The photographs discussed in the remainder of this chapter, apart from one, are of animals in London Zoo and some of them present an impression of the thylacine that is in striking contrast to illustrations of the species in American zoos. The photograph that appears in the *Illustrated Official Guide to the London Zoological Society's Gardens in Regent Park* 1904 is replete with signifiers of confinement (**fig. 5b**). Only a few animals are illustrated in the *Guide* and photographs of the zebra, lion and tiger are well defined and show widely spaced bars *behind* the animals. On the other hand, the picture of the gaunt thylacine enclosed in a dingy space has every surface marked with barred lines. Bars shadow the brick wall behind the figure as a faint shaft of light descends to the floor of the enclosure; weak patches of light produce broad bands on the dusty ground; to the right of the animal the coarse chicken wire that covers the closely-barred wall, and the stripes on the thylacine's back, echo the repeated parallel lines once more. The five lines of text state that the thylacine resembles a Wolf or Wild Dog and is "very fierce"; that "as it does great damage to flocks it is being killed off by settlers"; and that it has dark stripes across the greater part of its back (Mitchell, *Guide, 1904* 94-5). This text underscores the notion of restraint and extends the idea of 'barring' to the animal's body. Now the animal's stripes seem to work with the bars and the wire to suggest that the species is 'marked' for imprisonment and destruction.

In 1904 thylacines were housed in a small shed in the northern corner of London Zoo near the much larger kangaroo sheds and paddock. The photograph draws attention to the regular, oblong shape of the bricks in the wall of the sleeping quarters and the heavy render between them that imparts a feeling of solid impregnability to the building. In stark contrast to fig. 5, the animal's torso is positioned in front of a dark, *closed* door made of wide planks. Like the props in nineteenth-century photo-portraits that signify the social status of the human subject, this solid cage positions the thylacine as a dangerous animal. And there is no possibility of escaping the gaze of the spectator – the thylacine is captured and held for

scrutiny by the institution of the Zoo, the closed door, the viewfinder of the camera, and the play of light and shadow in the photograph.[179] In response to its surroundings, the animal's body seems to disintegrate in abjection; it has a papery, insubstantial quality, the light breaks the planes of its form, shadows create hollows and waste muscles. Sontag is concerned that the shock of photographed atrocities wears off after thirty years of saturation (*On Photography* 110), but photographs of the thylacine such as this seem to gather poignancy with the certainty of the species' extinction and they come to represent the tragic loss of many hundreds of animal species brought about by colonising nations. In science and natural history books in years succeeding 1905, this photograph is enlarged and cropped as if to facilitate closer inspection of the figure.

Peter Wollen draws attention to the way photographs function in time – "their currency, their circulation and re-cycling" – and the way they can go through "a whole history of re-publication and re-contextualisation" that results in new perceptions of an image (np). This effect is particularly apparent in an indistinct, reversed version of this photograph, published in 1912 in volume III of a multi volume work by Arthur Mee called *Popular Science* (**fig. 5b(i)**). The confidence of a new century is established by the triumphant tone in Volume I, where a picture opposite the contents page shows a man standing on a globe with arms stretched toward the sun and the caption "The conqueror of the earth – will he master the sun?"[180] In this reproduction of the photograph most of the cropping has taken place at the top of the photo, with a little of the bottom also removed, resulting in a wide, shallow rectangular picture. The door to the inner enclosure is now barely discernible, the light is softer than in the previous version and, if the viewer's eyes focus on the floor, the close-up photograph now reveals debris. Here, a branch or large twig beneath the animal's feet functions as a *punctum*. The twig and texture of the objects on the floor have a "metonymic expansion" – they seem to epitomise the abjection experienced by a thylacine in a zoo enclosure. Now neglect, deprivation, dirt and waste pulsate in every minute detail of the photograph and "overwhelm the entirety of my reading" (Barthes, *Camera Lucida* 49).

The text that is intended to accompany the image is found on the following page. The name 'Tasmanian wolf' is prominent and the definitive description of the animal is "stupidity and ferocity embodied". It is noted that "in reality [the thylacine is] infinitely removed" from the "true wolf", that it is rather like "a kangaroo masquerading as a wolf", and that unless some sanctuary can be reserved for it the animal is "bound shortly to be exterminated" (Mee

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[179] An introductory paragraph to the *Guide* states there were 2,500 animals and over 600,000 visitors to the London Zoo annually at the time of publication.

[180] See also the discussion of fig. 6e and the *Taronga Zoo Guide* for similar sentiments in relation to European animals.

2014). Mee's *Popular Science* was, as the title suggests, a popular, encyclopaedic work that was widely disseminated in the early twentieth century. Much of the text consists of highly dramatic, wildly suggestive and value-laden narrative. In the case of the thylacine, it implies that the animal deserved to be neglected. The section on pouched mammals in which the description of the thylacine is found constantly reinforces what Paddle calls "placental chauvinism" (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* passim). A sub-heading in Mee's book explains that marsupials are "A Low Type of Small-Brained Animal Approaching the Reptile, and Developed Chiefly in Australia" and later states that "all marsupials are non-placental; there is no connection between the developing embryo and the parent body, such as is found in the case of all the higher mammals". The text concedes that "authorities differ as to whether the marsupial is excessively primitive or merely degenerate" and concludes that "the answer lies still hidden in the rocks". Australasia is referred to as the marsupial's "vast asylum" and, while mentioning how varied the members of the order are, it refers to the "hideous thylacine, or pouched wolf" (Mee 2007-9).

There is little in the picture to support this description. The form of the thylacine is dog-like and looks vulnerable rather than stupid or hideous, while the physical disjunction between image and text and the photograph of a snarling Tasmanian devil below this picture intensifies the thylacine's timid appearance. And it is the photograph rather than the text that invites attention, patches of light encouraging a thorough inspection of each corner of the frame. On every page of this section of the book photographs of pouched mammals challenge the traditional texts in one way or another. In her work on photographs of war and disaster, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, Sontag remarks that "photographs lay down routes of reference, and serve as totems of causes: sentiment is more likely to crystallise around a photograph than around a verbal slogan" (76). But it would be unwise to assume the effects of such an image when the text that frames it restates such a powerfully entrenched notion of colonial supremacy. At a time of both renewal and rethinking about the past, there is only a hint of ambivalence in one last line about the Tasmanian mammals, the thylacine and the Tasmanian devil – "unless steps are taken for their preservation, posterity will be deprived of these two brutally fascinating examples of carnivorous mammals at their lowest stage of development" (Mee 2014). Perhaps this sentence exemplifies Sontag's point that photographs of atrocities may give rise to opposing responses, among them, "a bemused awareness ... that terrible things happen" (*Regarding the Pain* 12), although the chief concern here seems to be the loss to science of a "fascinating" *object* of interest.

An Australian work called *The Wonders of Animal Life*, published 1928-9, recycles this photograph again in a differently cropped and considerably enlarged version, but with no specific text about the thylacine (**fig. 5b(ii)**). However, it takes a slightly kinder view of

marsupials and includes a chapter on extinction, demonstrating the growth of concern about species extermination in the 1920s. Under the heading "A Land of Living Fossils" this text refers to Australia as "a sort of biological backwater", an "almshouse for antiquated animals" and a refuge of the destitute. This use of the discourse of the Great Depression underway at the time illustrates how narratives about animals are often used "to support the prevailing social and economic conditions" (Turner 63-6). The text is also heavily influenced by contemporary interpretations of evolutionary theory, and names the thylacine and the Tasmanian devil as two of four animals "whose total extinction is only a matter of time". It states, "so far as extinction is concerned, every race of animal, man included, has to fight against the danger of [extinction] and, in Nature, there is no mercy for the unfit". In a defensive outline of extinctions that have already occurred, the disappearance of species is still mentioned in terms of 'doom', as if pre-ordained, although several cases of careless, even "ruthless" extermination by humans are cited (Hammerton 965-76, 1203-17). Although a concerned, rather than triumphant, attitude is detectable in this work, it also demonstrates how persistently the stock phrases of nineteenth-century scientific discourse about animals and extinction were used. A number of natural history works in the early twentieth century exhibit this ambivalent position. While there is evidence of a change in perceptions of marsupials and extinction, it is sporadic and often overwhelmed by conventional rhetoric. In this enlarged version of the photograph taken by Walter Dando the closed door behind the thylacine is clearly distinguishable and it is interesting to note that, although the Tasmanian devil is also designated as "doomed", the photograph of the species in this book shows an animal with a glossy coat and an alert expression sitting on a bed of straw. Photographs were a primary element in the disruption of traditional forms of representation and, in successive imagetexts, helped generate confusing messages.

An even more abject image of a thylacine first appears with an unusual text in *More Natural History Essays* by Graham Renshaw in 1905 (**fig. 5c**). The photograph by the writer of the essays shows the same male animal residing in the London Zoo from 1902 to 1906 that appears in the previous set of images (refer to Moeller 158). However, now the figure is on the other side of the *open* doorway and a stone drinking-trough is included in the picture. The photo is also taken at a different time of the day and light floods the cage in broad shafts, modifying the dark and dingy impression given by the earlier photo. The straw visible on the floor inside the dark gap of the doorway imparts a faintly comforting note, but the bent back of the thylacine, the positioning of its tail, the spare coldness of the trough and the distorted wire mesh through which the animal is sniffing, have an overwhelmingly

depressing effect.[181] The picture begs for sympathy, particularly as the caption beneath the image says "note the curious resemblance to a dog", positioning the animal as a potential friend rather than enemy. This appeal is intensified when the animal's stripes are compared with the fronds of ferns and said to be "protective" (Renshaw, *More Essays* 215). These are several of a series of textual references, connotations and denotations that distinguish this imagetext from others of the era.

The long and interesting essay by Renshaw that accompanies this image begins with the words "across the zoological history of the nineteenth century one may well write the word 'extermination'; for as Omar destroyed the priceless treasures of the Alexandrian library so have others robbed the world forever of many beautiful and interesting animals".[182] In 1905 this was a unique inference about the thylacine and the text continues that, hopefully, 'preservation' will eventually be the word inscribed on the history of the twentieth century, but admits that the protection of "destructive beasts" is a "difficult problem". However, Renshaw does not exhibit the usual apathy, pointing out that such animals have their "due place in nature" and that "once gone are gone forever" (*More Essays* 214-7). The text also exposes errors in scientific texts that are "flourishing like a green bay tree"; however, stories of the thylacine's fondness for "live mutton" and reference to "a *mountain*, indeed *alpine*, species" are made, as well as several other very obvious mistakes in relation to dates. Renshaw states that no other photographs have been found of thylacines in London Zoo, that this is one of several he has taken, and that "the value of such life studies is apparent in view of the many inaccuracies perpetrated on the tiger wolf by artists and taxidermists" (*More Essays* 228). This statement is one of a number in zoological works at the time indicating that photographs were considered 'truer' representations of animals than images made by other means.[183]

The "inaccuracies perpetrated on the tiger wolf" mentioned in Renshaw's text are those of form, and do not include misleading representations of 'character' and behaviour that I have discussed in this thesis, but even in trying to define the thylacine's appearance, Renshaw falls into the trap of assuming that what he sees in London Zoo is 'representative' of the species. For instance, while he points out that "rarity much militates against any European

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[181] In *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, Darwin writes about the withdrawal of a dog's whole hindquarters and the resultant drawing of the tail inwards as a reaction to danger or discomfort. He also notices the reverse: that the tail is carried aloft when an animal trots with "high elastic steps". Alternately, a crouching, submissive position attends the approach of a familiar human (Darwin, *Expression of Emotions* 51-3, 121-3). Many of Darwin's observations were made when watching animals at London Zoo.

[182] Renshaw was later a lecturer in Zoology at Manchester University.

[183] Renshaw also has a footnote that mentions the photograph in *Nature* (fig. 5) because it contradicts "a work of some standing" that shows an animal with a curling tail (he is probably referring to fig. 2, the image in *The Naturalist's Library*) (*More Essays* 229).

artist figuring it from life" he goes on to state that "the adult thylacine is really a snaky beast" with a "half-starved appearance". This impression was obviously given by the confined and isolated animal in the zoo – the only situation in which a live animal *was* seen – and was not necessarily that of the species as a whole.[184] The essay also includes a discussion of the behaviour of the "Regent's Park thylacine", with the comment that it took "exercise" by running backwards and forwards between the "sleeping apartment" and the outer yard. The text refers to the photograph, interpreting the position of the figure as an abrupt pause in its motion, with head raised "as if to reconnoitre" and notes that the thylacine took little notice of an attendant and was unusually silent. Renshaw draws on "Mr. Gunn's" remarks about the behaviour of the "wild thylacine" and notes that "this individual, at any rate" is silent. Unlike the comments regarding the animal's form, he now acknowledges that this is an individual animal and its situation may affect its behaviour. However, a reader's tendency to extend notions of the particular to the general may be stronger when the thylacine's attitude is compared with that of the Tasmanian devil in the adjacent cage. The text notes that the devil is "ever ready ... to bite and to utter its ferocious, sobbing growl" (*More Essays* 229-30). Here, a difference in the behaviour of the two species directly related to empirical observation is suggested, rather than the similar ferocity for both species usually expressed in traditional representations. This imagetext persistently undermines previous representations of the thylacine.

Renshaw's natural history essay is also particularly significant because it is the earliest by far to mention conservation in relation to the thylacine. Renshaw hopes that animals bred in Melbourne and Adelaide zoos will be the foundation of a "menagerie race" that will "stave off the day when the thylacine will vanish forever".[185] The text suggests that "certain of the wilder districts", such as the central tableland of Tasmania, be set aside as animal reserves or that an uninhabited island be turned into a "natural sanctuary".[186] "Truly", it states, the fate of the thylacine "hangs in the balance". Read after the animal's extinction, this and other elements in the text do powerful work on the photographic image. By interpreting the remark of a naturalist that "I have seen one and shall never see another" as an omen, and by inscribing the captivity of the animal as a pause before the species' final extermination, the fall of the shutter emerges as a moment in which the distorted, fragile, vulnerable figure is

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[184] Zoologist Menna Jones feels that 'inaccuracies' of form, for example in earlier illustrations (see Figures 2 and 4) are often a result of the situation of the animals used as models (pers. comm. 15/10/03).

[185] Paddle discusses the breeding of thylacines in Australian zoos, including Melbourne Zoo, and shows a photograph of a female at Adelaide Zoo with young in her pouch (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 224-31, 58).

[186] It was not until 1925 that a publication called *Save Australia: A Plea for the Right use of our Flora and Fauna* suggested that Sir Colin McKenzie instigate a breeding program for the thylacine at Healesville"(Barrett, *Save Australia* 88) and 1938 when naturalist Michael Sharland mentions the idea of a sanctuary for the thylacine in Tasmania and suggests a specific site for it ("In Search" 38). These and other ideas for the preservation of the species will be discussed in conversions.

'captured' for a second time (*More Essays* 231-2). In retrospect of the thylacine's extinction, these ideas infuse the image with poignancy: it is now a rare and prec(ar)ious visualisation of a lost possibility – the 'if only' of the species' history. But a reading of the photograph in 1905 may have been considerably different.

Thirty-three years later a close-up, cropped reprint of this photograph appears with a condensed version of Renshaw's text in the *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire* (**fig. 5c(i)**). The short article now calls the thylacine "almost extinct" and an edited view of the photograph has the same effect as the close-up, fig. 5b (ii) – it reveals and draws attention to textural details and exposes objects on the floor of the cage that are not discernible in the earlier image. The close-up emphasises the light slanting in broad shafts. It shines on the figure's nose, highlights the fur under the eye and smudges the stripes on its back. Oddly, the picture is cropped on every side except the one that shows the *open* door. The effect of these contradictory motifs is to heighten pathos as the eye responds first to warmth, then pain; dark, then hope. It is a deeply disturbing image and, compounding the concern it generates, the text concentrates on the unique features of the animal, reinforced by the label 'Thylacine' rather than Tasmanian or marsupial 'wolf', and demonstrates how it could be represented in a completely different way to constructions appearing in texts discussed so far. This revision is achieved by omitting many of the phrases repeated in earlier works, avoiding mention of sheep-killing, and implying that the species should be valued for the features that are *not* common in other animals ("Journal Preservation Society" 47-9). This text works with the light in the picture and the caption on the illustration to affect the way the figure is perceived, constructing an animal worthy of the viewer's sympathy and of preservation.

Photographs of the thylacine not only locate the figure, but also suggest the species' situation and status in a specific zoo at a particular time. The background of the photographs is crucial to understanding how these images operate and the transformations that occur when photographs are used in natural history works. The closed door and brick wall at London Zoo is a powerful, impenetrable backdrop in the next set of images. The first of these is a photograph by L. Medland of a thylacine with an open mouth in *The Handy Natural History: Mammals* published in 1909 by the Religious Tract Society (**fig. 5d**). The back portion of the animal's body is in such deep shadow that the legs are barely visible, but this lack of clarity only serves to draw attention to the jaws that become as potent a symbol of threat as the use of wolf imagery.[187] The relationship of the door to the animal is changed with each photographic representation – in this photograph the thylacine seems to be *guarding* the door

[187] A cropped version of this figure is discussed as 5g.

or voicing its opposition to the (en)closure. Pictures of the thylacine with open mouth have received considerable attention; they seem to inspire macabre fascination and are constantly recycled in the late twentieth century. Paddle writes of a threat-yawn where the thylacine faces the object of concern and emits a hiss (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 67). The thylacine in this photograph was obviously not facing the photographer, so was either threatening something else or merely yawning, but the subtleties of behaviour and situation may be irrelevant to many readers conditioned through stories like "Little Red Riding Hood" and "Peter and the Wolf" to equate the sight of an animal's teeth with attack. The first line of the text – "the Thylacine, or Tasmanian Wolf, is the largest of the carnivorous mammals" – encourages this view, although the remainder of the entry contains references to marsupials ("a true marsupial ... a well developed pouch") and the dog ("very dog-like ... clean-limbed ... hunting by scent"). However, it also discusses the relationship traditionally attributed to the thylacine and sheep, and the species' 'inevitable' extermination (Protheroe 445). Whenever the interpretation of photographs can be easily directed to support the perceived aggressive nature of the animal, it becomes the centre of visual and verbal texts in natural history works. In this case, the brick walls and the door contain the suggested violence, and the fortress-like structure is implicitly justified. This is also an example of a photograph that is 'posed', in that the photographer chose to close the shutter when the animal opened its mouth. It would be interesting to know why this picture was chosen, whether the writer or publisher of the work accepted this image rather than another, or if it was selected to illustrate previously written words.

In direct contrast with the images discussed so far, photography also 'captured' the thylacine in the kinds of attitudes that German artists attempted to illustrate late in the nineteenth century. One of the most spirited of these is a picture of a young female animal that was temporarily located in the Lemur House on the north side of London Zoo and photographed by W.S. Berridge c1909 (Edwards, *London Zoo* 195). It appears with a low wall and wire fence behind the figure in the *Official Guide to the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London* 1911 (**fig. 5e**) and *Brehm's Tierleben* in 1912, but in *The Book of the Animal Kingdom* by William Westall in 1910, and *Animal Life of the World* by Crossland and Parrish in 1934, it has substantial areas of the background removed. According to the *Guide*, the Lemur House was erected in 1908 "partly to prepare for the Australian Exhibition of that year, and partly to provide Reception Houses where newly arrived animals could be placed under observation and kept in a kind of quarantine". Later, however, due to "rearrangements in the Gardens", the two artificially heated houses, each over a hundred feet long, were chiefly used for lemurs and animals "temporarily dislodged from their quarters". These included the Cat-Bear, "a curious Himalayan Carnivore, allied to the racoons"; a Tamandua

Ant-eater, "a small arboreal Ant-eater ... [that] lives on chopped meat, bread and milk and hard-boiled eggs"; and the Thylacine or Tasmanian wolf, that is very fierce, "a lithe and active creature" with a curious wheezing cry that shows its affinity with the kangaroo in "its stupidity and the shape of its hind quarters" (Mitchell, *Official Guide, 1911* 89-90). When an 'authoritative' institution with the popular appeal of a zoo constructed the thylacine as a primitive creature to be feared, and contrasted it with other 'harmless' animals in its publication, the species' extermination was effectively encouraged and justified. On the other hand, Westall expresses concern about the situation of the thylacine when he notes the increasing rarity of "such an interesting animal as the Thylacine" and includes the ironic comment that "science demands ... [it] should not become a mere memory or be represented only by skulls and stuffed skins in the museums of the world". But, typical of many works published in this era, words such as "lair", "ferocity" and references to sheep-killing are also mentioned in the text, so that the old mythological discourse competes with ideas about preservation (Westall 207).

On the whole, the photographs in the *Guide* do nothing to support its discriminating text. Indeed, they encapsulate the timidity, vulnerability and attractiveness of a number of different species and illustrate the self-possessed charm that animals often exhibit. The figure of the young thylacine with its tail elevated is reminiscent of the images engraved by Indigenous Australians on the rocks on Angel Island that are discussed in the prologue to this thesis. This photograph indicates that the camera could erase the European stereotype of the thylacine – in the confines of London zoo, this young animal is recorded exhibiting the behaviour Aboriginal people often observed in the wild. The slippage between image and text is exacerbated by their separation from each other and the brevity of the description, but the ideational disjunction is forced in a different direction by the photograph of a Hairy Armadillo on the same page and diagonally opposite the picture of the thylacine. The armadillo's hard leathery shell and large claws contrast unfavourably with the fur and flexibility of the thylacine's body, and it is described as one of a number of similar animals that "like most creatures that in the history of life on the world have resorted to protection, are extinct, having been beaten in the struggle for existence by more active and intelligent forms" (Mitchell, *Official Guide, 1911* 93). This statement interrogates the likelihood of the thylacine's extermination because the species is described earlier as "active" and the photograph shows a lively animal. The picture, indeed, dominates the text and overrides the words, rendering the careless rhetorical constructions redundant. Unlike the zoo backdrops in other photographs, the rocks, low wall and dense vegetation behind it increase the effectiveness of this image because they suggest a garden, rather than a cage, and constitute a powerful statement about the way in which the environment of the zoo could be improved

and about the behaviour of animals when conditions were favourable. This picture also speaks volumes about how species can maintain some form of natural behaviour even in confined spaces. It encourages the appreciation and empathy of the viewer. The edition of the *Guide* in which this image appears is not held in Tasmanian libraries.

Another illustration of a thylacine in a 1913 work called *Highways and Byways of the Zoological Gardens* visually distances the figure from the brick wall in the background, while the text explicitly draws attention to the idea of confinement and the enclosures at London Zoo (**fig. 5f**). This figure has a closed mouth and there are no specific comments about the thylacine but there is a pertinent chapter about wolves, dogs, foxes and zoos. Constance Pocock is one of very few female writers of a zoological work, and she expresses intense interest and involvement with the animals in London Zoo. The words she uses are sentimental, rather than those thought appropriate to scientific discourse, and demonstrate how animals can be represented in a way quite different from that demonstrated in most works discussed so far.[188] For instance, she asks "who, as a lover of dogs, could fail to be attracted by a dingo mother nursing a litter of pups"; she writes of the "universal debt owed by man to the dog tribe" and about the wolf at the zoo who was inconsolable and refused food after the death of her mate Lobo. Pocock mentions that wolves in small cages never look happy, especially "with the advent of rain, and closing in of day" when they seem "painfully reminded of restraint". In the style of nineteenth century romantic writing she includes a poem about the wolves at Regent's Park in which she imagines life in the Zoo from an animal's point of view: "Doomed with tortuous tread to wander / In a ten-foot world and Ponder? – / Caged wolves – / Of the plaintive, piteous protest / In the voices of the wolves". She adds the footnote that since these lines were written the wolves' dens at London Zoo had undergone improvement, indicating that the cage the thylacine lived in was not the only one in need of attention (71-76). In fact, a 1901 news bulletin of the New York Zoological Society reports a "long and severe attack" on the conditions in London Zoo in a pamphlet written by Edmund Selous. The American writer suggests the extension of the Zoo grounds into the "fifty acres of useless ground" that made up Regents Park, noting that the current secretary of the London Zoological Society, William Sclater, has had no success with attempts to obtain the area. It is noted: "clearly, it is impossible for the London Zoo to become a Zoological Park, with abundant room for all the animals" (Anon., "Criticism of a Great Zoo" 43).

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[188] The word 'sentimental' is often used to impose distance between its user and the emotional connotations of the subject. In this case I apply it to clarify the contrast between the approach of this text and many previous ones and to indicate that the writer of the text is expressing *sentiments* – thoughts influenced by feelings or emotions.

Few illustrations and texts in zoological works are so decisive in their suggestions as those in Pocock's work and the Zoological Society bulletin. Volume I of *The Living Animals of the World: A Popular Natural History* 1913 is subtitled "an interesting description of beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects, etc, with authentic anecdotes" and it shows how contradictory messages can be produced when more than one image is used **(fig. 5g)**. The upper picture of the thylacine in this work is a head and neck cropping of fig. 5d with the caption "Tasmanian Wolf" and "this photograph shows the great width of gape of this ferocious animal".[189] The lower photograph shows a thylacine sniffing the floor of the enclosure in front of the same door before which fig. 5b is positioned. Because it is so ordinary, the image has entirely different connotations from the photograph above it. The sun is flooding the figure with light, and its thin form gives the impression of a gaunt, even emaciated animal. As in fig. 5f and the wood engravings of German artists, the quality of the animal's fur becomes the focus of the picture, especially in this case where it is highlighted by the sun. The prominent sinews in the thin bent hind legs give the figure a defenceless appearance and, despite the harsh surfaces of wire, brick and concrete, the bowed head and intent attitude suggest an animal at ease and an undetected spectator. This picture is inserted within the text for the Tasmanian devil and it is only by reading the small print underneath it that a distinction is made. It says "in this photograph are shown nearly all the chief characteristic points of the Tasmanian wolf" (Cornish 373). It is a caption more appropriate to the illustration discussed above, for this picture shows much more than the "characteristic points" of this particular animal: in retrospect, it illustrates the distressing results of conditions in London Zoo for most thylacines in the early twentieth century.

The text that accompanies the two photographs multiplies the mixed messages that are projected by the images. It emphasises threatening aspects of the thylacine's behaviour, notes that it is confined to inaccessible mountainous districts, and describes European settlement as "compassing" the animal's extermination.[190] But the entry also includes the information that the "very fine young male specimen" then at Regent's Park was quickly on very good terms with its keeper although it "snaps rather promiscuously at those attempting to cultivate its close acquaintanceship". These lines are directly beside the image of the open mouth; however, the text refers to the "successful *yawning* pose photograph" [my italics] and does not attribute the actions of the thylacine to ferocity, as the photo's caption implies, but to "its somewhat imperfect sense of vision during the daytime" (Cornish 372-3). The two

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[189] This photograph will be discussed in more detail in Figure 6 under 'Cropping the Figure".

[190] The title of the book, *Living Animals of the World*, indicates an awareness of the scope of extinction and the need to distinguish between those that presently survived and those that did not. It was a concept that differentiated between this subject matter and works that developed out of the enthusiasm for dinosaurs and fossils in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

images now seem to illustrate different parts of the text. In terms of the imagetext as a whole, the lower picture, in particular, shows how photographs destabilise the representational control previously exercised in works of this type; they allow for a complex play of meanings as stereotypes are diverted, displaced, undermined and challenged.

A very similar picture of a thylacine at Regent's Park Zoo, this time positioned in front of the brick wall, is included in *The Wonders of Animal Life* by W.S. Berridge published in 1915, but framing strategies change the messages that the image produces (**fig. 5h**). The thylacine appears with the Tasmanian devil, the kea parrot and the kaola [sic] in a chapter on animals verging on extinction, the inclusion of which is a feature of early twentieth-century zoological works. The text focuses on the kea's propensity for sheep-killing and asserts that "it will be a time for rejoicing amongst sheep-farmers in New Zealand (but not amongst naturalists) when they are completely exterminated". This explicit distinction between the interests of naturalists and sheep-farmers is unusual in natural history works and indicates that naturalist were beginning to break away from an ideology that furthered the economic interests of a minority of settlers. However, the figure of the thylacine in this relatively small photograph appears even smaller because the picture shares the space of the page with one that contains a larger figure of a devil. Shapiro notes that size is a function of value and that "the sizes of things in a picture express a conception that requires no knowledge of a rule for its understanding": it is already given in language, for example 'greatest' and 'highest' (219). A fine white line and a thicker grey border frame both the photograph of the thylacine and the Tasmanian devil. Shapiro also observes that the rectangular page, as well as the border or "continuous isolating frame" around an image, is an artificial field or margin. These frames have become so 'natural' that their function and the way they operate on a picture is often ignored. He points out that these frames belong to the space of the observer rather than the "illusory, three-dimensional world disclosed within and behind. It is a finding and focusing device placed between the observer and the image" (212). In the case of these illustrations the frames act with their captions to enclose and secure the figures inside them like the bars of the zoo cage, and create an impression of depth in the picture that distances the animal from the viewer. A criss-cross pattern in light and shadow created by the wire on the cage covers the entire photograph of the thylacine, connoting a dangerous animal and accentuating the words beneath the picture that pronounces "The Tasmanian Wolf which preys on sheep". The New York Zoological Society Bulletin 1904 makes the point that "good photographs of animals" can only be secured by entering the enclosures of "wild animals" and that "poor pictures are worse than none, for they repel interest instead of attracting it" (Anon., "Wild-Animal Photography" 133). The open mouth of the devil performs the same function as the shadow of the bars when combined with the words

beneath its frame – "The Tasmanian Devil is of a very savage disposition". These photographs exemplify the way the framing and positioning of a picture on a page, as well as the position of the photographer, can shift the values and change the messages a photograph projects just as much as a text can.

One of only two photographs of thylacines taken at a zoo in Tasmania to appear in a natural history work shows four animals in a straw covered enclosure with the caption "The Only Family Ever Reared in Captivity" (**fig. 5i**). It is placed opposite an article about a visit to Beaumaris Zoo, Hobart, by Isabel Busby that is published in the *Australian Naturalist* in 1918 and also in *The Sun* newspaper in 1923. Mary Roberts, an "exceptional" and energetic woman, established Beaumaris Zoo in 1895 and she was associated with it for the next 26 years. Guiler's history of the Zoo notes that Roberts delivered a lecture to the Royal Society of Tasmania on the fauna of the island and moved a motion to protect native animals. He also quotes a woman who had accompanied Mrs Roberts to the Zoo cages as a young girl and who stated that the thylacines "always seemed so tame to me, and never were ferocious and always looked sad" ("Beaumaris Zoo" 153). These responses to the thylacine and, indeed, animals in general, are consistent with those of female writers in zoological works – they show sensitivity to the animals and do not see them primarily as a threat, or as a challenge to their professional ambitions as photographers or scientists. In the time Roberts ran Beaumaris Zoo she exchanged a large number of animals with dealers and zoos around the world, London Zoo being the main recipient ("Beaumaris Zoo" 131). Three thylacines held there between 1909 and 1914 came from Mary Roberts – some of them are the animals in the photographs I have discussed in the previous paragraphs (Edwards, *List of Thylacines* 2). Busby's essay describes the thylacines in the picture as "four fine specimens" and "beautifully striped animals in good condition". She records that on the morning of her visit a photographer called to take a photo of them, "which he only succeeded in doing after the expenditure of a good deal of time and patience, owing to their restlessness" (Busby 3). This "restlessness" is apparent in the positions of the animals in the cramped space shown in the photograph and in the close contact they have with each other. I can see the site of Beaumaris Zoo and the roof of the large house where Mary Roberts lived from the window where I write these words. The photograph demonstrates the power of the medium to bridge the gap between the individual animals in that Zoo nearly a hundred years ago and research about the species in the present. Unfortunately, the presence of this candid photograph of a family of thylacines and its sympathetic text in an Australian journal did not encourage protection for members of the species; many more expressions of interest and concern were required before measures that gave consideration to the thylacine's survival were implemented.

An article published in a Melbourne newspaper in 1923 includes this image under the banner "Fossil Wealth: Australia's Animals a National Asset". Australia is called a "museum of living fossils" and the text points out how valuable marsupials are to museums in other parts of the world and that they are neglected and ignored in Australia. The work of Colin Mackenzie appears to have inspired the report, which goes on to stress not only the scientific value of animals, but also their market value as skins and furs, and urges the establishment of a regulated fur industry. It also reports Mackenzie's comments on the likelihood of more extinctions occurring, but it is pointed out that while sheep farmers paid £1 a head for thylacines, "now a good 'tiger' is worth £50, and the price is going up" (Dunbabin np). This is the value of a "good specimen" to a museum or zoo and the preservation of the species in the wild is not mentioned. The messages generated by the photograph that illustrates this article are completely different from those projected in Busby's essay – the 'family' crowded into the small space of the enclosure now seem to suggest that an abundance of valuable "specimens" are available in Tasmania: they are "good" looking commodities and economic assets that provide boundless opportunities for gain.

The final photograph discussed in this chapter, by London Zoo photographer W.S Berridge, shows a thylacine in the classic zoological profile that probably required considerable patience to 'capture' (**fig 5j**). Berridge writes about taking photographs of animals in a chapter called "Round the Zoo with a Camera" in *Every Boy's Book of the Zoo* 1911. He calls photographs "pictorial records", stresses the need for patience in photographing animals and recommends the new Reflex camera, a 'reflecting camera' in which "the image passes through the lens and falls on a mirror and from this is reflected onto a glass screen, which is shaded by a hood, and down which the photographer looks". The advantage of the Reflex was that the image was focussed and, unlike earlier cameras, because the result was seen by looking down the hood there was no guesswork; then, taking the picture only involved pressing a lever to release the shutter "so that the rays of light ... pass unimpeded to the sensitised plate". Berridge stresses the importance of conditions of light in photographing animals in a zoo so that the shadow of the bars does not fall on their bodies, and urges that the "expression of the sitters" and their various moods be given attention. To ensure the zoo environment is minimised, he suggests: "wait your opportunity and place your lens between" the bars (125-32).

Pictures such as this illustration of the thylacine in *Natural History* (1936), a book edited by Charles Tate Regan, the director of the British Museum (Natural History), as well as fig. 5a and 5f, display the results of Berridge's careful photographic technique. It shows the primary elements of an animal's form, as the traditional zoological illustrations of the early nineteenth century attempted to do; there is no particular behaviour or characteristic

displayed, and the background is signified as irrelevant or neutral. However, responses to this 'conventional' zoological figure are compromised by the detail on the body of the animal, which is similar to that seen in the more adeptly engraved naturalistic images. That is, the photograph shows a pelt that is thick and rough, the stripes wave with the muscles, and the soft skin of the ear is palpable. The sensuous body is evoked, rather than a 'form', 'skeletal system' or 'biological entity', it intensifies the harsh austerity of the brick wall and supports feelings of concern conveyed in the text. In all the pictures in this chapter that display this conventional pose, however, the doors and the brick wall of an enclosure are distracting details that *place* the figure in an ambiguous space, for the zoo has both scientific and popular associations.[191] While this picture encourages close observation, objective examination, and a comparison of the thylacine's form with that of other animals, it also generates complex and unstable readings.

Summary

The impact of photography on representations of the thylacine is evident in the illustrations discussed in this chapter in a number of ways. By showing the situation, behaviour and appearance of the species in captivity, photographs contrasted with engraved and lithographed images that showed constructed natural habitats and self-consciously pictorial compositions. But unless the photograph or the animal was manipulated, the conventional illustration of the 'type specimen' was not possible and, in addition, the environment of the zoo interfered with other criteria for depicting zoological subjects. This means that 'naturalistic' images, such as those made by Joseph Wolf and the German artists, are also contradicted. Photographs reveal the thylacine's multi-faceted identity – a docile, timid, miserable or vital creature in varied positions and attitude – a handsome animal stares out from photographs taken at Washington Zoo, while the restricted, squalid cage at London Zoo dominates the behaviour of the animal and readings of the images located there. The impact of photography is also noticeable in the slippage between old texts and new images in many works. Some texts, however, exploit the potential of photography to work with other factors such as the rising awareness of extinctions and the loss of species. These imagetexts make powerful new statements about the thylacine. A change in perceptions of the species is evident in Renshaw's text that accompanies the most pathetic of images, as well as in the conservation concerns of the National Zoological Park embedded in the background of the images from Washington Zoo.

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[191] The three images, fig. 5d, 5e and 5f, were taken by three of London Zoo's official photographers: Lewis Medland, W.S. Berridge, and David Seth-Smith. Edwards notes that the photographs remained the property of the photographers, rather than the Zoological Society (*London Zoo* 14).

One of the most significant effects of photography can be seen in the contradictory messages within an imagetext, in conflicting implications within a text or an image, and in ambivalent imagetexts. Photographs were a primary element in the disruption of traditional forms of representation and helped generate confusing messages. When more than one photograph was used in a work, representational control flounders and stereotypes are disabled. In many cases photographs dominate a text because they carry the promise of veracity and deliver a simple, easily accessible message effectively and efficiently. On the other hand, while photographs did not necessarily change perceptions of the thylacine, the texts that accompanied them became crucial in interpreting the image. In a few cases, consistent exposure to certain images, claims and assumptions may have resulted in new attitudes being formed. Photographs had the potential to make a considerable impact on perceptions of the thylacine, and the fact that they were manipulated suggests that their latent power was recognised. In Figure 6, I analyse photographs of the thylacine that were 'revised' in some way or another and for a number of reasons. The pictures in the following chapter show how the 'truth' associated with the medium of photography was open to exploitation and how it enabled the adjustments made to an image to often remain unrecognised until the present.

FIGURE 6

REFIGURING THE THYLACINE 1900 –1931

Much has been written about the denotative claims and mimetic quality of photographs, but less has been discussed about the "rhetorical power of its connotative overlay" (Jay 442). W.J.T. Mitchell expresses the "paradox" of the medium in a discussion of Barthes' essay on the photographic message in the following terms: one *connotation* always present in the photograph is that it is a pure denotation, without a code – "that is simply what it means to recognise it as a photograph rather than some other sort of image" (*Picture Theory* 284). Some of the "connotation procedures" mentioned by Barthes in *Image-Music-Text* are particularly applicable to the photographs discussed in Figure 6. He draws attention to trick effects "that intervene without warning in the plane of denotation"; pose: "the denotated-connoted"; photogenia: the image 'embellished' by technical effects; and syntax: a sequence of photographs where the signifier is found at the level of the "concatenation" (*Image-Music-Text* 20-5). So, as Sontag also points out, photographs are as much an interpretation of the world as paintings and drawings are, and "despite the presumption of veracity that gives all photographs authority, interest, seductiveness, the work that photographers do is no generic exception to the usually shady commerce between art and truth" (*On Photography* 6-7).

The images in Figure 6 demonstrate how photographs "fiddle with the scale of the world ... get reduced, blown up, cropped, retouched, doctored, tricked out" (*On Photography* 4). These transformations were not unusual in the early twentieth century. The first techniques for retouching photographs were exhibited at the Paris World Fair in 1855 (MacQuire 144) and Sadakichi Hartmann's 1904 article railed against the tendency to apply the technical devices of painting and the graphic arts to photography for the purpose of "individual expression" (Newhall 185). Re-arranging the natural world to ensure a photograph complied with pictorial conventions was also a common practice. Tim Bonyhady discusses the removal of trees and placement of figures and objects in the foreground by British photographer Samuel Bourne, Eadweard Muybridge in the USA, and J.W. Beattie and Morton Allport in Tasmania (*Colonial Earth* 192-217). Elaborate reconstructions of scenes and figures at the level of photographic process were also common. In 1910 Frank Hurley combined photographs of stags in various positions at Sydney Zoo into a 'family setting' by printing several negatives together (Bickel 62). Later, as official Australian war photographer for both the first and second world wars, Hurley received approval from the Australian government to make 'composite' war scenes in which exploding bombs, ruined landscapes and wounded men were combined with dramatic light bursting from behind

darkly banked clouds, using double exposure and enlargement.[192] Perhaps the most infamous is Edward Curtis who used traditional 'props', as well as suggestive captions, to construct images of a 'vanishing race' of American Indians between 1907 and 1930, at the same time claiming that his work complied with the strictest standards of 'scientific accuracy' (Anderson and Gale, *Inventing Places* 93).

The manipulation of photographs was particularly useful in relation to the thylacine in a zoo because it was a relatively undisciplined subject, 'unnaturally' confined, and the wire mesh and concrete of its enclosure difficult to avoid. Photographs that appeared in zoological works were 'adjusted' to denote the animal in its 'natural' habitat, to resemble a conventional zoological image, to accentuate a particular feature of the animal, or to re-generate suggestions of threat that characterised nineteenth-century constructions. The animal was 'posed' in several ways; the background of some photographs was replaced; outlines were enhanced and images transformed by the application of painted objects; 'composite' photographs were assembled and, finally, a dead specimen replaced the living animal. However, in all these photographs the denotative claims of photography still operate: both implicitly, as earlier versions of a photograph are lost or forgotten and images circulate in successive temporal and spatial zones, or explicitly, in captions and texts.[193] And in the political act of blanking out 'irrelevant' detail, re-situating an animal and retouching the photograph, a revision that characterises the history of representing the thylacine in European culture is carried out yet again.

Making New Backgrounds

The first evidence of attempts to adjust a photograph of the thylacine is discernible in a photograph that appeared in 1903 of an animal in New York Zoological Park. The removal of the zoo background in this and other early photographs used as illustrations imply it was perceived as a problem, for it is apparent that photographs in this section are adjusted to resemble conventional zoological images, or to comply with or reinforce a text. The photograph of the thylacine in *News Bulletin of the Zoological Society* 1903 clearly shows a painted background (**fig. 6**). The original version of this photograph, held by the New York Zoological Society Archives (Moeller 150), shows the animal gazing through the wire mesh of its cage. The new backdrop has been painted in none too carefully, as paint marks are

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[192] Hurley's justification was that they were the only way "to illustrate to the public the things our fellows do and how war is conducted. They can only be got by printing a result from a number of negatives or re-enactment" (O'Keefe 62).

[193] Scott MacQuire points out that "contemporary responses to the reality of an image tend to be determined not so much by the image itself, but by the assumptions concerning the origin of the image". That is, it is "the cultural network inflecting its referent" that is decisive in this regard (146).

readily apparent on the animal's rump and tail. A text by W.H. Le Souëf (Director of Melbourne Zoo) with its appearance in *Zoologica*, the journal of the Zoological Society, explains why the natural elements in the amended picture have been selected: "during the day [thylacines] generally sleep in hollow logs, holes, under rocks". Either the concrete and wire of the zoo have been re-placed by specific elements that illustrate the behaviour and habitat of the animal 'in the wild' or, as the caption says "New York Zoological Park", to imply the thylacine enjoys idyllic conditions at this institution (Le Souëf, "Mammals" 193).[194] Taking the objectives of the Society into consideration, it must have been prominent in the minds of the authorities that elements 'natural' to the thylacine's requirements were claimed to be provided in the zoo. As the photo in Moeller's book shows the animal's nose against the wire of the cage that intrudes untidily into the scene, the revised photograph is a vast improvement; it also focuses attention on the body of the animal, rather than the background. A shadow has even been painted in to give veracity to the spacious new location that now corresponds with the image the New York Zoological Park wished to project.

William Bridge's book *Gathering of Animals: An Unconventional History of the New York Zoological Society* mentions that "showmanship is undeniably a part of the zoological-park mystique" and lists the rare animals Hornaday tried, often unsuccessfully, to procure to draw crowds to the Zoological Park. When he did, many of these animals lived only a matter of days. Bridge reveals that Hornaday turned down the specimen of the thylacine with three pouch-young that went to Washington Zoo in 1902, but then he paid US$125 for the next specimen available from animal dealer Carl Hagenbeck in Hamburg (Bridges 221-2). This newly arrived animal appears in the *News Bulletin of the Zoological Society* in 1903. When this image is used in his work *Our Vanishing Wildlife* in 1913, one of the first books to deal specifically with the need for the conservation of species, the painted background seems stark and 'unnatural'. But there has been no attempt to change the photographs or hide their origin in this work – the picture of the thylacine takes its place amongst those of a West Indian seal in the New York Aquarium; Californian elephant seals "photographed on Guadalupe Island"; the bodies of nineteen sandhill cranes killed as "game" by three gunners; and watercolour paintings of extinct birds (Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife* passim). A similar situation occurs with regard to a blurry photograph of a thylacine in Melbourne Zoo. When it is used with a very brief text in *The Animals of Australia* (Lucas and Le Souëf 132) in 1909, the boards and metal door of its zoo enclosure remain, as they also do in the conservation work *Save Australia: A Plea for the Right Use of our Flora and Fauna* that

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[194] The role of William Hornaday, the founder of the Zoo, in protecting wildlife in the United States will be discussed in conversions.

appeared in 1925. But in the popular work *Wonder Animals of Australia*, although the photographer of the original picture, A.B. Lane, is still given credit for the image, the entire site has been removed and only a shadow is left on the ground beneath the thylacine to indicate that it occupies any space at all (Vidler 11).[195] Credit must be given to works such as *Our Vanishing Wildlife* that urged the preservation of species and attempted to be candid in regard to representing them.

Another version of fig. 6, that places its subject more firmly in a 'natural' setting, appeared in 1929 in the second of two articles titled "Strange Animals of the Island Continent" by H.C. Raven of the American Museum of Natural History in New York (**fig. 6(i)**). The text supplies details of Raven's visit to Tasmania in 1923 illustrated by photographs of the thylacine, the Tasmanian devil and the wombat with zoo locations obliterated and new environments, in which trees, ferns and foliage predominate, painted behind the animals. These lush new sites are consistent with the Museum's reputation for elaborate reconstructions of animals and their habitats, particularly dinosaurs, in exhibits on public display in its imposing new building in the early twentieth century. Charles Knight's early twentieth-century paintings for the American Museum when Henry Osborn was president of the institution also circulated in museum aids, children's books, teaching aids and on the covers of *Scientific American* (Mitchell, *The Last Dinosaur Book* 140). Donna Haraway reveals a tale of "the commerce of power and knowledge in white and male supremacist capitalism" in relation to Carl Akeley, the designer of the Museum's African Hall, where the taxidermist constructed nature as "mystery and resource" and manipulated the exhibits to tell "the story of a fierce and savage Africa" ("Teddy Bear Patriarchy" 21-2). The commercialisation of scientific representation is also apparent in the appealing images, preferred environments, and idealised locations in the publications of the institution. There is no mention of sheep-killing in the text that accompanies the thyalcine photograph and, although it does not mention that the thylacine specifically is endangered, it notes that "Australia is the home of many unique animals, but already many have been eliminated", "the modern world is not kind to animals" and that "the future of many of the present Australian and Tasmanian animals depends on their protection" (Raven 200-7). In line with this text, the removal of the zoo setting from the illustration and its replacement with trees and leaf litter may have been motivated by a desire to restore the thylacine in/to its original habitat in the face of its possible extinction. Texts can explain as well as interpret. On the other hand, a note in *Australian Museum Magazine* in April, 1923, relates that the writer of the article, M. Raven, had just returned from Tasmania after obtaining a fine collection of

[195] Norman Laird points out that photographs were often "pirated", retouched and used in different publications in the early and mid twentieth century (NS1143/1).

Australian mammals for "anatomical purposes and for display in the projected Australian Hall in the New York Museum". This information follows the *Magazine's* editorial in which the right of "our American cousins" to collect in Australia, or "share our heritage", as it is phrased, is defended (Anderson, "Magazine" 223-4).[196] The editorial was written in response to those who noted the irony in Museums collecting specimens of species at the same time as they recommended their preservation.

The impact of both the background of a photograph and its framing can be seen in the 1913 and 1937 editions of an American publication, *A History of Land Animals in the Western Hemisphere*, where a new environment had been painted around the thylacine instead of the zoo setting that appears in the lower photograph in fig. 5h (**fig. 6a**). On the title page of the book the artists Charles Knight and R. Bruce Horsfall are credited with the illustrations, but no signature is apparent on the black and white picture of the thylacine on page 633. Knight, mentioned above, became famous for his three dimensional dinosaur reconstructions and has since been blamed for "fixing the stereotype of slow, stupid, clumsy giants headed for extinction". In his book on dinosaurs in popular culture, Mitchell writes of Knight: "his dinosaurs may drag their tails on the ground [behaviour associated with 'primitive' forms of life] but they stand erect on their hind legs" (*The Last Dinosaur Book* 141). Coincidently (or perhaps not) the tail of the thylacine in the photograph is dragging on the ground, but the zoo background has disappeared, an artist has painted tree branches overhanging the thylacine in the style of Japanese pen and ink drawings. The thylacine's body seems to have been touched-up to remove the faint shadow of the bars on the fur, and the image is surrounded by an exceptionally fine linear frame. The effect of removing the wire shadow, the thick frame, the brick wall and the caption of fig. 5h and replacing them with these elements and the title "Thylacine", advocated because it is "less confusing" than 'wolf' (Scott, *Land Mammals* 632), transforms the appearance and the impression of the image. The emaciated form of the thylacine is 'naturalised' by the new surroundings and the whole scene conveys tranquillity and ease. The majority of the text, however, contradicts the picture as it concentrates on the species' "wolf-like appearance and habits", especially its destructive behaviour towards sheep but, in this case, the power of the visual portion of the communication tends to override the old narrative. This ambivalence within the imagetext exemplifies the representation of the thylacine in works of the period.

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[196] This editorial includes a defence of the right of museums in general to collect species in the face of dwindling numbers and the Australian Museum's attitude to extinction generally. It will be discussed in conversions.

Posing the Animal

Two illustrations in natural history works demonstrate how photographs of the thylacine could be 'posed' and indicate how a simple visual signifier can tap into a host of popular intertextual references and mythologies. Both pictures show an animal in a position in which the stripes on its back are the most prominent element in the visual field. A quotation in the front of Ernest Ingersoll's *The Life of Animals: The Mammals*, published in 1906, describes the approach this work takes and why it was taken. It states "it is possible to make natural history entertaining and attractive as well as instructive, with no loss of scientific precision" and notes the relation of this approach to the book's widest possible diffusion. It is apparent, again, that the transformation of photographs was often undertaken to ensure 'scienctific' works appealed to a wide audience. The text about the thylacine refers to the Tasmanian "zebra wolf" and calls it "a much-dreaded beast ... with the look of an ancient creodont and the manners of a modern wolf". But rather than directing attention to the stripes dominating the body of the animal in the photograph (**fig. 6b**), the text refers to the animal's *head* (large), its *jaw* (powerful), the gape of its *mouth* ("extending back behind the eye", although this is not apparent in the picture) and the prominent, dark *eye* that is, in fact, quite disarming. A distinction between the thylacine and "our" carnivores is established, and while the "16 transverse stripes" are mentioned, references to a mountain habitat, a liking for sheep and a "dull-witted nature" return this text to the predictable content of most nineteenth-century descriptions (Ingersoll 511-3).

Photographs that focus on the thylacine's stripes show the animal in positions and attitudes unlike those in any engraving or lithograph and are among the most visually compelling zoological illustrations. Research on the history of the stripe by Michel Pastoureau suggests that stripes present a "rhythmic, dynamic, narrative surface that indicates action" and that they are an accent, that is, "the spectator's eye cannot *not* be drawn to a striped surface" and "in any image, the striped element is always the one seen first".[197] Perhaps the failure of the text that accompanies the photograph to elaborate on the thylacine's stripes indicates that their meaning was so familiar. As Mitchell points out, the most indelible texts *within* images are there when "they are most completely absent, invisible or inaudible" (*Picture Theory* 98). Pastoureau's research has found that in medieval Europe surface structure was seen in binary terms: plain on one side and everything that is not plain – spotted, striped, divided – on the other. Stripes and their counterparts "convey varying degrees of the same state: that of transgression". Animals with striped or spotted coats were seen as something to fear; they

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[197] Pastoureau gives examples of the way this functions even, for instance, in the huge dimensions of Breugel's painting *The Way to Calvary* (21-2).

could be "cruel and bloodthirsty like the tiger, hyena or leopard ... thieves like the trout or the magpie, sly like the snake or the wasp, diabolical like the snake or the dragon. Even the zebra ... passes for dangerous at the end of the Middle Ages". Pastoureau maintains that this mistrust of striped animals has left "an enduring mark on the Western imagination", so that even today when the tiger's stripes are admired, it remains the symbol of "a fascinating kind of cruelty". He also cites the case of the "beast of Gévaudan", "a gigantic wolf with wide stripes on its back", which spread terror in several provinces of France from 1764 to 1767. Other 'beasts of Gévaudan' that were imagined to haunt the rest of the French countryside until the middle of the nineteenth century also had stripes (Pastoureau 25-6). The strength and focus of this mythology indicates that potent intertextual associations are in operation when the viewer's gaze is arrested by prominently displayed stripes in photographs of the thylacine.

Stripes were coded in a similar way in zoological works of the time where they were described as recessive or primitive. These 'authoritative' ideas worked with popular perceptions to reinforce notions of the thylacine's inferiority. A 1903 book, *Mostly Mammals: Zoological Essays* by Richard Lydekker, mentions the conclusions of Professor Eimer of Tübingen on the colour-markings of animals. His 'law of colouration' defines a striping sequence that consists of longitudinal stripes (which are primitive) then stripes breaking into spots, then the spots coalescing into transverse stripes, and finally, "all markings disappeared, so as to produce uniform coloration of the whole coat". The 'purity' or desirability of the last category is obvious from the emphasis placed on the words 'uniform' and 'whole' and, while recording that the matter is complex, the text also notes that "with regard to uniformly coloured animals, there can be no question as to the truth of the theory, since the young of so many animals ... show ... striped or spotted markings which disappear ... in the adult". On the other hand, after a long discussion about camouflage, the text concludes: "transverse stripes cannot be made to accord with Prof. Eimer's theory, since ... they exist in some of the most primitive of all mammals" (Lydekker, *Mostly Mammals* 32-3). So, rather than raising the status of animals with transverse stripes, the theory is dismissed because it places animals like the thylacine too high on the evolutionary ladder.

As well as foregrounding the animal's stripes, fig. 6b displays representational conventions that were often employed in photographing humans in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The animal has its forefeet on what appears to be a white sheet covering the

wooden boards of the floor it sits on.[198] The cloth functions like a prop in a studio portrait, its pristine whiteness contrasting with and emphasising both the stripes and the *difference* between the whiteness and the strange alterity signified by the dark stripes. This alterity is emphasised in *More Wild Animals and the Camera* where animals are divided into familiar, acceptable and 'other' species (Dando, *More Wild Animals* passim). As is seen in Figures 2, 3 and 4, animals indigenous to countries considered other to Britain were often endowed with characteristics that operated as signifiers of threat or undesirability. Surrounded by printed words and separated from them by a fine black frame, this image also resembles a portrait, especially when compared with the hand-drawn anteater on the opposite page that has no frame at all. The framing works with the claims of photography to portray a 'likeness'; the drawing on the opposite page becomes merely an 'artist's impression'.[199] The *punctum* in this picture is the line in the middle ground, which seems to be a tear or fold in the sheet. The eye is arrested, intrigued, and dwells on the thin, dark cleft just below the head and nose of the animal. Lying as it does on the pristine whiteness of the sheet, and mimicking the shape of the stripes, it both distracts from the animal and draws attention to the dark patterning.

A similar image appears in a 1912 edition of *Brehm's Tierleben* and in *More Wild Animals and the Camera* (1913), where Walter Dando, first official photographer for the Zoological Society of London and stage manager of the Palace Theatre, has written descriptions to accompany his photographs of animals in London Zoo (**fig. 6c**). In his first book, *Wild Animals and the Camera,* Dando uses the sporting terms and hunting metaphors often employed when referring to photography – such as 'firing' the camera and 'capturing' an image – and writes of studying an animal's behaviour, just as many sportsmen do, before "shooting" the film. He also remarks that photography "secures the most reliable and permanent souvenirs of wild Nature" without hurting or killing the animal (*Wild Animals* vii-ix). However, as Bonyhady points out in an exposé of nature photography:

> in practice, the shift from one type of shooting to another was neither simple nor swift. Collectors had to work hard to persuade themselves that it was better to have a photograph than a stuffed bird or a blown egg. Instead of cameras replacing guns, the two coexisted for many years (*Colonial Earth* 212).

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[198] Although Renshaw's book was published a year earlier than this one, he may also be writing about this thylacine when he says "the New York animal is seen standing to be photographed in the most approved 'good dog' pose": (*More Essays* 230).

[199] In a letter to Mary Russell Mitford about photographic portraits, English poet Elizabeth Barrett (later Browning) writes "it is not only the likeness which is precious ... but the association and sense of nearness involved in the thing ... the fact of *the very shadow of the person* lying there fixed forever" (quoted in Haworth-Booth 22)

The detached enthusiasm with which Dando approached photographing many of the animals pictured in his books, and other ideas expressed in his text, suggests there was little difference between the attitudes that motivated the two practices in the early twentieth century. Indeed, Sontag perceives "something predatory in the act of taking a picture" and sees a potential in portraits to turn people into "objects that can be symbolically possessed". If the camera is a sublimation of the gun, as Dando's metaphors suggest, then photography becomes what Sontag refers to as "sublimated murder – a soft murder, appropriate to a sad, frightened time" (*On Photography* 14-5). Haraway makes similar observations about the camera in her paper on taxidermy at the American Museum of Natural History – "so superior to the gun for the possession, production, preservation, consumption, surveillance, appreciation, and control of nature" ("Teddy Bear Patriarchy" 42). Sontag and Haraway's observations are demonstrated in photographs that construct particularly damaging ideas about the thylacine discussed later in this chapter.

In *More Wild Animals*, the thylacine is grouped with wolves, in a section that includes the dingo, wild dogs and jackals under the heading "Mammals". While constantly producing contradictory statements, the text about the thylacine concentrates on its similarities to the wolf, tiger and hyena. Most of the animals appear in typical zoological profile positions, like specimens, and only the thylacine is shown on its hind feet at the closed door that is dominant in so many photographs taken in London Zoo. *London Zoo from Old Photographs* includes a reproduction of this photograph with the comment that Dando "recorded that he had to wait a long time before the animal took up this position" (Edwards 194).[200] With the regularity of the brick's patterning on one side, the planks of the door on the other, and the alternately dark and light arcs that straddle the thylacine's back between them, there is a sense in which this picture becomes a piece of 'photographic art'.[201] It is also a reminder that there is rarely an un-posed picture: the photographer decides to open and close the shutter when an animal is framed in a particular way. Waiting is a form of non-interventional posing. As John Szarkowski puts it, "photography ... is a matter of surrounding with a frame a portion of one's core of vision, while standing in the right place at the right time ... it is a matter of choosing among given possibilities" (quoted in Sontag, *On Photography* 192). Although all photographs of the thylacine may be regarded as exhibiting this phenomenon, these photographs provide particularly affective indications of this form of posing, while at the same time appearing to 'capture' an attitude or position as if by chance.

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[200] *London Zoo from Old Photographs* maintains this photograph was taken c1903 and was probably of a male purchased in 1902 and that died in 1906 (Edwards 194).

[201] In the preface to this book Dando writes that he hopes some of his photographs will be appreciated for combining "the artistic as well as technical side of photographic art" (*More Wild Animals* vii).

To some extent, the photograph of the striped "Tasmanian wolf" standing on its hind legs at the door of the sleeping quarters in the enclosure at London Zoo overrides the pain and pathos of previous photographs taken at this site. The stripes appear as crescent moons curved over the animal's back and also seem denuded of any association with threat. The animal's stance – on two legs, like a human – and its positioning at the point where door and brick wall meet, expresses desire, determination, and opportunism. Drawing on Renshaw's comments about the relentless movement of the thylacine quoted in relation to fig. 5c, this is a photographic moment in the life of an animal that did not exhibit the behaviour visitors to zoos wanted to see; it did not 'entertain' viewers, it wanted to gain entry to its sleeping quarters behind that door. In a chapter about thylacines in zoos, Moeller mentions their unsuitability as zoo animals, partly because, as nocturnal creatures, they rested for long periods during daylight hours (163). Another German zoologist, B. Grzimek, also notes what he calls "sluggish" and "bored" behaviour (quoted in Guiler, "Beaumaris Zoo" 153). Paddle, in conversation with Alison Reid, notes that the door of the inner enclosure at Hobart Zoo in Tasmania was often shut during the day to prevent the thylacine from escaping the spectators' gaze. The death of the 'last' thylacine is attributed to the failure to open the door during an unusually hot day and cold night (Paddle, *Last Tasmanian Tiger* 191-5). The closed door in photos of the thylacine in zoos, therefore, is a compelling emblem of death.

Cropping the Figure

While posing the thylacine was often a time-consuming activity, cropping a photograph was a particularly quick, effective way to accentuate a particular feature (**fig. 6d**). The picture of the thylacine head with open mouth in the 1913 work *The Living Animals of the World: A Popular Natural History*, and a similar publication in 1924, is a cropping of fig. 5d. With the caption, "this photograph shows the great width of gape of this ferocious animal", the image shows how cropping can be used not only to draw attention to, but intensify, the meanings an image generates. What is also interesting about this photograph when compared to 5d, is that a tooth or hair on the upper jaw in the original image has been extended to suggest a large, carnivorous fang similar to that often apparent in images of the 'sabre-toothed' tiger. This cropping and retouching, then, is deliberately employed to re-generate suggestions of threat that characterised nineteenth-century constructions. In my discussion concerning the interaction of this image with another that appears on the same page in fig. 5g, I mention the mixed messages projected by the two images and the text. But considered by itself in relation to the text (and the position of the image at the top of the page encourages a viewer to focus on this image) the reader may well select statements that refer to 'ferocity'. The phrases include: the Tasmanian Wolf is a "flesh-eater" of "considerable

size"; "its dimensions equal those of a wolf or mastiff, with which the contours of its body and more especially that of the head very nearly correspond"; "the thylacine hunts its prey by scent"; "the Tasmanian 'tigers' possess immense staying power"; in London Zoo "it was apt to snap somewhat promiscuously at those attempting to cultivate its close acquaintanceship" and "a bite from its formidable teeth is not to be lightly risked". Although this reading is undercut in the reference to "the successful yawning pose photograph secured by Mr. Medland", the imagination of a child or the desire for sensation and excitement, may bury this statement with others that are less applicable to the toothy photograph (Cornish 373). In my discussion of the two images and their relationship with the text I noted that the use of the lower photograph destabilised the representational control previously operating in works that used engravings or lithographs, which could be constructed to support a text or visualise the thylacine in any way desired. The cropped and retouched head of the animal at the top of the page, however, demonstrates that attempts were made to compensate for the disclosures photographs made and to reassert control over the process of imagemaking. It confirms that, in fact, the politics of representing the thylacine had barely shifted by the early twentieth century.

Removing the Background

The following three images are examples of a background removed entirely and not replaced, so that the thylacine stands against a blank or minimal backdrop. The first of these appears in *Scientific Australian* in 1917 and then in *Wild Animals of the World: Being a Popular Guide to Taronga Zoological Park* in 1919 **(fig. 6e)**. This very indistinct profile image of a pair of thylacines is a version of a photograph taken of animals in a wire-covered outdoor enclosure that appears in numerous publications in the 1990s. These later reproductions often mention c1930 as a date for the image and cite Beaumaris Zoo in Hobart as the location of the photographs. But this print of the photograph, with the wire that covers almost the entire picture blanked out, first appears on the cover of a 1917 publication with a very brief note inside the issue that includes the line "a photograph recently taken at Hobart" (Anon., "Tasmanian Tigers" 60). In the *Guide to Taronga Zoo* the width of the image has necessitated placing the picture parallel to the spine of the book, so that it has to be turned ninety degrees to view the image right-way-up. Almost all the other illustrations in this work are drawings of animals in their native habitats, so that the blurry image of the thylacines, with no internal rectangular frame, backdrop, or colour surrounding them (except

for a faint line near their feet), appears to float off the page.[202] Meyer Shapiro mentions a similar effect when elements of an image burst through the frame or when the frame follows the outline of an object. In the case of this photograph, the 'frame' is the outline of the animals against the white background of the page. As Shapiro puts it, this "accents the form of the signs, rather than encloses a field on which the signs are set". It results in the "independence and energy" of the subjects being asserted in the "detours forced upon the frame by the image" that then imparts the impression of animals that could 'escape' from the page (213). The removal of the background, then, has a radical effect on the readings an image produces. The thylacines in this 'adjusted' picture escape not only the zoo, but also appear to break free of the immediate confines of the physical page on which they are placed.

Notional frames associated with the book's production and dissemination, however, have a potential to play on the reading of an image in complex and multiple ways. The extremely brief text that accompanies the photograph states that the thylacine is now so rare as to be on the point of extinction, but other parts of the *Guide to Taronga Zoo* are particularly interesting for the attitudes they project about animals in general. For instance, while the text is explicit about the role of the zoo – to display the power of 'man' over 'nature' – it also acknowledges that man is part of nature and implies that 'he' shares some of the basic attributes of animals. The preface cites ancient "instincts" that it refers to as "the Call of the Wild", which result in a "craving" for nature among "modern men and women" that can be satisfied by a visit to Taronga Park. This zoo is perceived as an alternative to the city, a place of entertainment and education, and one supplying inspiration for the artist and providing the solution to abstract scientific problems (Hedley 5-9). The *Guide* lists Australian animals first and then European animals, with a long preamble in which a triumphal discourse of British imperialism appears that constructs the zoo as a place where remnants of a quest for dominion are proudly housed and exhibited. It tells a story about a time when animals *ruled the world*, until man wrested the continent from them; now he fights for the whole world, a battle that "cannot stop until the last wild beast has been shot". The text contends that the last fortresses of wild animals are presently being stormed and "in a few generations all the wild beasts will have gone" from their last refuges "among steep mountains, or rough hungry wastes, or cruel thirsty deserts" (Hedley 64).

The *Guide* persists in projecting an anthropocentric attitude, despite describing the predicament of wild animals and, unlike the text in the journal of the American Museum

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[202] For me, this impression is exacerbated because I am so familiar with the original image and influenced by how it has been 'grounded' by its association with a specific place, the date attached to it, and histories of Beaumaris Zoo in Paddle (2000) and Guiler (1986).

discussed above, it does not pursue an educational advocacy for the preservation of animals or environment. The writer of the *Guide*, C. Hedley, was principal curator of the collections at the Australian Museum in 1921 and his attitude can perhaps be compared with that exhibited by W.H. Le Souëf, Director of the Melbourne Zoo, in the introduction to an article on Australian mammals in *Zoologica*: *Scientific Contributions of the New York Zoological Society* published in the same year. Le Souëf comments (perhaps defensively) on the problems of preserving indigenous animals in Australia, citing the size of the country as posing a difficulty in enforcing "game laws" and controlling foxes, cats, rabbits and other introduced animals. He cites drought and the destruction of vegetation caused by sheep and cattle as factors in denuding the country, and mentions a number of animals sure to become extinct, stating vaguely that the only way they can be preserved is to "form Reserves in various types of country". Later, speaking of Tasmania and the thylacine, he maintains, "the government has lately established a large Reserve for [the thylacine] near Hobart" (Le Souëf, "Mammals" 167-9). In a 1913 book, *Our Vanishing Wildlife*, Hornaday names the location of this reserve as Freycinet Peninsula, but there is no record of any moves to establish any such reserve specifically for the thylacine, or even for Tasmanian animals generally at this time.

Taronga Zoo was one of many Australian institutions that did little to address the plight of native animals in the early twentieth century; however, as the *Guide* implies, photographs in zoological books at this time were often perceived as an inventory of biological forms expected to become extinct. Photography did, in one important sense, document disappearing species. Sontag sees the photograph as a testament to "time's relentless melt" and notes Fox Talbot's remark about the camera's special aptitude for recording "the injuries of time" (*On Photography* 15, 69), while Haraway writes of the camera: "to make an exact image is to insure against disappearance, to cannibalise life until it is safely and permanently a secular image, a ghost. It arrested decay" ("Teddy Bear Patriarchy" 42). In this image/text the removal of the cage in which the thylacines were photographed is a profound denial of the only situation in which the species was then readily seen. Given the suggestions of its text regarding the imperial quest for control, the *Guide to Taronga Zoo* is a work where it would have been apposite to include a photograph of the 'nearly extinct' thylacine that *did* include the wire of the enclosure.

The second picture in this sub-group is contained in *Hutchinson's Animals of all Countries* published in 1924, a very similar publication to *Living Animals of the World* discussed in relation to fig. 5g, but this edition has an additional full-page photograph of a thylacine with head down, forefeet extended and tail in a horizontal position (**fig. 6f**). The background of the photograph has been dissolved into a dark plane with only the suggestion of ground and

so it is difficult to guess where the picture was taken, but as two of the contributors are associated with the Zoological Society of London and the other photographs in the book are of animals located there, Regents' Park is the probable site. There are indications that the photograph has been 'touched up', for instance, the lack of elements in the background and the crisp, clear, linear outline that suggest that the figure has been defined with a paintbrush when the new background has been filled in; but the attitude suggested by the position of the animal's body is unmistakably vital and implies that it is stretching or playing.[203] Interpretation of the figure's behaviour is directed by the caption "several eye-witnesses have seen it going along w*ith its head to the ground* in the wake of a kangaroo, wallaby, or some weaker animal" (Finn et al. 755, my italics). The integrity of this statement would have been compromised if the wire of the cage and the concrete floor of the zoo were visible so, here, the image has been manipulated to fit the text, or the text has been constructed to roughly fit the thylacine's attitude, while elements in the photograph that did not fit this construction were removed. Interestingly, the animals the thylacine is said to pursue are native, rather than introduced, so that instead of the traditional economic discourse, Darwin's ideas about animals in a specific geographical area being "bound together by a web of complex relations" are called up (*On the Origin of Species* 140). The citation of empirical evidence, then, gives added veracity to the interpretation of the animal's behaviour. Compared to the text-entries associated with photographs previously discussed, this rhetorical construction also changes considerably the focus and meaning of the image it speaks to. However, because of a lack of background, the image does not adequately support the text and the imagetext as a whole becomes unconvincing. On the other hand, early readings, influenced by a belief in the claims of photography or acceptance of the practice of retouching, may have resulted in a different perception of the image.

The representation of the Tasmanian devil in this work makes an interesting comparison to the thylacine picture. Two photographs on pages 752-3 show a sedate devil sitting on its haunches. One has a foreground of sticks or straw, while the other has a blank background. The text calls the species destructive and ferocious, killing sheep "for the mere pleasure of slaughter" and blames its scarcity on its "misdeeds" (Finn et al. 753). Judging by the texts in early twentieth-century British publications such as this, it is clear that traditional representations of violence and threat still persisted and were probably popular with readers. The difference in representations of the thylacine and the devil in many other works consistently show that both are constructed as 'ferocious' and the devil as 'savage' as well but, while photographs of the thylacine rarely support this designation, photographs of the

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[203] The shape of a form can be changed in the process of retouching so that the attitude of an animal is no longer natural, hence my use of the word 'but' in the middle of this sentence.

devil usually show a snarling animal. This devil in the straw, however, merely looks small and stubborn, while in the image with the background removed its glossy coat seems to invite stroking. It is also clear, then, that the removal of a background could work with an animal's attitude and position to undermine the habitual texts and cause obvious slippages between what was seen and what was written that must have led to questioning of conventional beliefs about the devil as well as the thylacine.

Removing the zoo background from a photograph could be carried out for a number of reasons and the resulting image may have been used in many different types of work in which the photograph may not necessarily satisfy the demands of the text. This image/text disjunction is exemplified when an enlarged version of the photograph by W.S. Berridge discussed in relation to fig. 5j is reproduced, with the brick wall flattened into a grey plane and retouching marks clearly apparent around its ears, with an article in the British newspaper *Field* called "A Prehistoric Beast Still Living" in 1931 (**fig. 6g**). The enlarging process has rendered the figure indistinct and the removal of the wall and door has the effect of bringing the thylacine towards the viewer, as if for closer inspection. The suspension of its body in what appears to be a void implies it is a 'type', rather than an individual animal. But the picture takes on a surreal quality when read with the text that stresses the extraordinary nature of the thylacine, its relation to 'animals of the past', and the information that there are few left in zoos. The article perceives a similarity between the thylacine and the wolf, tiger, jackal and hyena but also stresses the differences, commenting on the animal's tail and pouch and describing the species' ferocity; propensity to eat only the liver and kidneys of prey and travel long distances; its bark like a "wheezing cough" and ability to "rise up on its hind legs and jump like a kangaroo" (Morey 822). At the bottom of the page a painting by Charles Knight of a scene in Patagonia showing a Prothylacine, "believed by many to have been closely akin to the ancestor of the Tasmanian wolf", from *A History of the Land Mammals of the Western Hemisphere* discussed in relation to fig. 6a, adds an extra exotic touch to this representation of the thylacine. The institutional brick wall of Regent's Park Zoo would have been an inappropriate backdrop for such a strange, archaic beast, but the sterile background that replaces it does not match the complexities of this wide-ranging text – for the article opens with the words "unless something is done, and done quickly, one of the most interesting survivals from the past still living on this earth will speedily follow the quagga into extinction" and includes the observation "there are many who believe that it is already too late to save the Thylacine from extinction" (Morey 822).

Fabricating the Scene

Many of the photographs discussed in Figure 5 challenge the form, situation and behaviour of the thylacine as it was constructed in the nineteenth century. Some of the images discussed in Figure 6 demonstrate the tendency to change, adjust, or revise photographs to produce connotations of danger and threat that were so persistent in engraved and lithographed images. The last photograph I will consider in this chapter carries this tendency to its logical conclusion. It constitutes a refusal to allow photography to change earlier perceptions of the thylacine, exploits the veracity accorded to the medium and illustrates the persistence with which scientific publications accepted and circulated negative and misleading representations (**fig. 6h**). Embedded in the history of this image are indications of the power, prestige and influence of the scientific community in Australia and traces of humour. The photograph first appeared in 1921, with a four-line caption, on the inside cover of volume 1 number 3 of *Australian Museum Magazine* and the misleading credit "copyright photo from life – H. Burrell". This picture was much more widely disseminated when re-used in the 1926 publication *The Wild Animals of Australasia* by A.S. Le Souëf (at that time curator of Taronga Park Zoo Sydney), Henry (Harry) Burrell, amateur naturalist and Ellis Troughton, zoologist at the Australian Museum. The image shows a thylacine in profile, with what appears to be a flapping fowl in its mouth, against a bush background. The viewer is led to believe that this is a picture of a thylacine caught robbing a henhouse or, perhaps, a thylacine in captivity that has just been fed a live hen. Both scenarios have been accepted in scientific and popular discourse since the photograph was first published, with the latter being currently in vogue.[204]

However, a print of the original photograph by Burrell, from which this cropped version is taken, is contained in an album that is part of the Norman Laird collection in the Archives Office of Tasmania. Beneath a carefully cut flap of black card, on which there is a typewritten message under the heading "Rare and Precious Photograph", a larger view of the image is displayed. It shows a wire fence behind the thylacine and a building resembling a shed or outhouse to the right of the animal. These features have been cropped from the image that appears in both *Australian Museum Magazine* and *The Wild Animals of Australasia*. Laird, a photographer and associate of Burrell's at the now defunct Institute of Anatomy in Canberra, Australia, notes that the photograph in *The Wild Animals of*

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[204] Paddle makes particular mention of a series of photographs that includes this one, calling them "impressive photographs of a thylacine dismembering a fowl in James Harrison's private zoo" (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 86). Harrison was an animal dealer in Wynyard during the early twentieth century who maintained his animals in a small holding area behind his home before selling them (Guiler, "Beaumaris Zoo" 126). Paddle has recently admitted his error in attributing the photograph to this location.

Australasia has been widely pirated. Then, toward the end of the album, he includes a typewritten note, beneath a particularly close-up version of the image in a newspaper article from 1972, claiming that Harry Burrell gave him glass plate negatives of this image and another photograph in 1931-2 and stating that the figure in the photo is not, in fact, a living animal at all – "it is a *stuffed specimen* placed against a bush background" (Laird, my italics). Haraway calls a hoax of this kind a "popular art form" that "luxuriated in early wildlife photography" ("Teddy Bear Patriarchy" 40). A detailed exposé of the glass plate negative of this photograph, and others by Burrell held in the Australian Museum Archives, is contained in my paper "Is this picture worth a thousand words? An analysis of Harry Burrell's photograph of a thylacine with a chicken" in *Australian Zoologist* volume 33, 2005 (see Appendix).

The most significant problem with the photograph is that it fabricates the idea that the thylacine was a threat to poultry and, by extension, sustains the notion that it was a threat to sheep and human endeavour in general. In his book *The Last Tasmanian Tiger* Paddle interrogates claims of the thylacine's predation on poultry, finds very few substantiated reports and points out that it has been referred to in publications so many times that it has been accepted in scientific literature and its significance magnified in a similar way to sheep predation. In chapter 4, "A Predatory Entertainment", Paddle details published representations of the thylacine as a predator of poultry in both the nineteenth and twentieth century, naming this photograph as one of the chief causes of a "blossoming of the construction" since the thylacine's extinction. He expresses no reservations about the power of representations and comments on the way the photograph has been cropped to disguise the caged environment and suggest that the thylacine is actually raiding a henhouse (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 84-9). Its first appearance a little more than a decade after the end of the devastating government bounty on the thylacine, when few members the species survived, did nothing to support the idea that its protection and preservation was crucial.

Fig. 6h, then, is a photograph taken by Burrell of a *specimen* that has been manipulated so as to appear to be holding a chicken in its mouth. It is difficult to find evidence of 'touching up' on the photograph, but there are a number of signs that the animal shown is a specimen. For instance, the body is unrealistically rigid, the stripes and the fur in general have a lifeless quality, the torso is flat, even concave, and the legs appear uniform and stick-like. Any animal with a flapping chicken in its mouth is unlikely to be so stiff and motionless. The clarity of the thylacine in contrast to the out-of-focus foreground, the blurry bracken in the background, and the apparent movement of the chicken's wing indicate its immobility. It is unclear which part of the chicken's body the thylacine is holding – it is unlikely an animal could maintain a grip on the delicate wing ends of a live bird. Technical advice suggests that

the specimen was probably photographed *in situ* with a dead chicken tied to its mouth and jerked with a string to resemble a flapping bird.[205] According to an entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Burrell was a former vaudeville comedian with "a keen analytical mind" and possessed a great sense of humour (Walsh 492). If Burrell had been adept in early twentieth-century photographic techniques, he could also have taken a photograph of a specimen in a museum and meticulously superimposed it on a photo of the bush background, then added an image of a flapping chicken near the animal's nose and mouth, and made a new print. There are two other photographs by Burrell of a thylacine and a chicken with the same background in which these methods may have been used. One is on the cover of *Australian Museum Magazine* Vol XII no. II, 1958 and two materialise in writing about the thylacine later in the century (see Moeller 89, 153); others are in Beresford and Bailey where the same image that appears on the cover of the *Magazine* is reproduced (30); while Paddle mentions Joines (1983) and Veitch (1979) who perpetuate the idea that the photograph shows a thylacine raiding a henhouse (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 87).

As I have indicated in the introductory paragraphs of this chapter, the transformation of an image by removing a background and inserting another was not unusual in the early twentieth century and there are a number of 'composite' photographs of the thylacine. In Tasmania, an image constructed by Launceston photographer H.J. King superimposes a photograph of a thylacine onto a photograph of a rock overlooking Cradle Mountain. A painted version of this picture is used by the Launceston Walking Club and adorns a wall in the Launceston branch of the State Library of Tasmania. There are also other examples of a stuffed specimen photographed in a bush setting.[206] But none appear to have been as convincing as the photograph of the thylacine with a chicken that is claimed, or implied, to depict a *living* animal. Sontag contends that a fake photograph "falsifies reality" because assumptions of 'truth' are made about photography that are not made in relation to other media such as painting. When it is published in a magazine associated with a national scientific institution and stated as depicting a living animal, fig. 6h carries specific assertions of veracity and Sontag, indeed, mentions the notion of value-free truth that is "a legacy from the sciences" (*On Photography* 86). Indeed, there is a suggestion in the preface to his seminal work on the platypus that Burrell was worried his deception might compromise the reception of this most important publication, especially as he was not a qualified zoologist

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[205] I am grateful to David Walker, photographer at the State Library of Tasmania, Hobart; Gale Spring, RMIT, Scientific and Industrial Photography Unit; and Peter Morse, University of Melbourne, Digital Imaging Unit, for advice regarding the photographs.

[206] A postcard of a specimen from Queen Victoria Museum taken by Bob Green, a former director of the Museum, is still being sold commercially as a postcard. A photograph by Don Stephens of a model of a thylacine against a background of shrubs and rocks is included in the TMAG photograph collection with a note that the image has been doctored.

and had not received "official sanction to work as a private collector", resulting in his field work practically stopping. While it may not be unusual to state "all my descriptions have been written from living specimens or from material freshly collected; museum specimens and records have been deliberately ignored". It sounds unduly defensive to note "none of the photographs reproduced have been touched up in any way" (Preface).

In addition, in the first issue of the *Magazine* in April of the same year, the Australian Museum states that its publication is part of an "increased effort to reach a wider public", particularly children, and that its magazine is "intended for those who have no special knowledge of the technical details of natural history". It also notes that "surely an animal is more interesting when it is presented, not as a mere dead thing, but as a living, breathing creature" (Anderson, "Magazine" 3-4). Did the Museum staff or the editor of the magazine know they were publishing a photograph of a specimen? Did they knowingly mislead readers of the publication? Ironically, the leading article in the issue is by W.K. Gregory, a visiting American zoologist and the Curator of Comparative Anatomy at the American Museum of Natural History. It is entitled "Australian Mammals and why they should be protected", explains why Australian animals are "the most uncommon, and perhaps the most interesting in the world", and states that extinction "is neither necessary nor inevitable". It is illustrated by a sequence of photographs of animals against 'natural' backgrounds, most of which are of specimens in the museum dioramas, and concludes with the bracketed note that "the photographs in this article, when not taken from life, are from specimens in the Australian Museum" (Gregory, "Magazine" 65-74). As using specimens was a common practice in the magazine, why was it not admitted in reference to the photograph of the thylacine? While I can find no evidence of a conspiracy, the objectives of the publication suggest careful scrutiny of the photograph may have been lacking in an attempt to titillate readers' sensitivities, gain wider readership and encourage the public to take an interest in zoology and visit the Museum. This image, then, reinforces the findings in relation to other works in the early twentieth century as photographs became the common representational medium in zoological works – the increasing commercialisation of science resulted in the abandonment of 'accuracy' in favour of popularity. The thylacine was the victim of a desire for sensationalism and the perception of photographs as 'truthful'.

Predictably, the texts that are published with this image reinforce the notion of predation suggested by the photograph. In *Australian Museum Magazine*, for instance, the caption states "the thylacine is the most powerful of the flesh-eating marsupials" and "in its evolution it has closely paralleled the European wolf ... its teeth in particular being similarly modified for rending flesh". The power of the text – the violent association of the words "rending" and "teeth" – with the visual impact of the soft, white, insubstantial feathers and

the suggestion of delicate tissue beneath them, produce a highly emotive effect. The text in *Wild Animals of Australasia* interacts with the photograph in an even more brutal way. It concentrates on the thylacine's hunting and feeding behaviour, is littered with words like "carcass" and "victim" and contains searing images of unpredictable movements like the "one sharp fox-like bite" that tears a dog's skull off. The following paragraph relates a story about the discovery of a female and two young "wolves" in a dry fern-bed under the "drooping and still attached dead fronds of a tree-fern". The description cross-references the dry bracken behind the thylacine, which now seems to illustrate the narrative, particularly when the word "camouflage" is also mentioned. While reference to other behaviour is included, the proclivity of images to invoke intertexts is consistently exploited in this text through the use of violent and exciting connotations. This tendency is exemplified in the last sentence of the text when the propensity of inhabitants of Tasmania to kill the thylacine is mentioned. It remarks: "indeed, some will even smash the wolf to pulp afterward, thus depriving science of the skeleton and skin" (Le Souëf et al., *Wild Animals* 318-9). As if to confirm this remark, the picture is missing from the State Library of Tasmania's copy of *The Wild Animals of Australasia*. When this second publication containing fig. 6h was reviewed in volume 3 of *Australian Museum Magazine* it was welcomed as an important step in the completion of a survey of the mammals of Australia and it was noted, "it is the illustrations, however, which make the strong popular appeal". The title of the book, including the word 'wild', also suggests that it was aimed at a popular audience and is an indictment of the objectivity claimed to be an essential part of scientific discourse. This photograph confirms that the thylacine was persistently *mis*represented in zoological and natural history works until the last moment of its existence.

Summary

The illustrations discussed in this chapter confirm the major argument of this thesis: that despite implications of objectivity, images of the thylacine in zoological works before the extinction of the species consistently represent it as a threat to human settlement and encouraged its extinction – they 'figure' the species' extinction. While engravings and lithographs were necessarily subjective depictions of the animal from the moment the buran or crayon was lifted, photographs introduced a chance for the 'real' thylacine to be revealed and a new set of attitudes to be formed. But the images in Figure 6 show how the potential of photography was subverted by removing the zoo background and replacing it with a constructed natural environment to disguise the actual situation of many members of the species, or by removing the background to let the animal float in a void; by posing the

animal in more attractive or incriminating positions, or by the conventional representation of the thylacine as a ferocious predator.

The images in this chapter show that photographs revealing a mild-mannered animal were revised to (re)produce what viewers expected to see and reinforce representation of the species as 'dangerous' with the intention to attract, excite and amuse readers. Like many of the demonic engravings and lithographs of the species, the photograph of a thylacine with a chicken – the only still photograph in existence of a thylacine with prey – appeared in a magazine associated with a major scientific institution in Australia and in a standard zoological work, the first comprehensive work on the mammals of Australia since 1871, that would have had a considerable popular readership in Tasmania. Haraway notes that in the early twentieth century "entertainment was complexly interwoven with science, art, hunting, and education" ("Teddy Bear Patriarchy" 40). The illustrations in twentieth-century zoological and natural history works exemplify her statement. Popular appeal in relation to economic considerations – factors that so often affected the way the thylacine was depicted – dominate the images in zoological and natural history works from the 1830s to the period covered in this chapter. More than one hundred years after Europeans first sighted the thylacine, then, the species had little value except as a figure of vicarious excitement. It was no longer an embodiment of colonists' fears, but a sacrifice to the desire for economic affluence that was offered even as the species teetered on the edge of extinction.

conversions 1870-1927

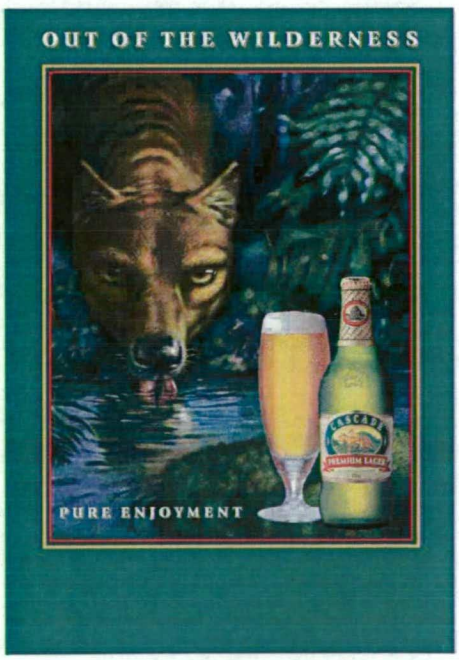
The images dealt with in this chapter chart the future of thylacine representation in Tasmania in the twentieth century. They appear at the end of the period under research and many differ from the images discussed in other chapters in their form, signifiers, and/or medium; they also occur in publications and circumstances other than those strictly related to zoological and natural history works. Three have a specific association with Tasmania and anticipate the use of the thylacine as a container for various messages and ideas aligned with commerce and state identity, rather than the animal world. All but two of the images have a relation to the production of natural history works and show that, despite the presence of photographs, specimens were still often used as models and that the use of photographic images did not obliterate the drawing, nor improve it – some of the most misshapen forms are included in this chapter. These representations constitute a microcosm of impending ideas about the species, new reproductive techniques that utilised photographic processes, and different uses for the figure of the thylacine. In relation to those illustrations that preceded them, they demystify the species, empty the form of many negative connotations, and construct new, although no less distorted, ideas.

These images reshape the thylacine once again: the species is not the abject animal in Figure 1, nor the menacing fox-like figure in Figure 2; it bears some resemblance to a few of the illustrations in Figure 3, but none to the wolf-like depictions of Figure 4; one is a careful copy of a photograph in Figure 5, but without the sinister changes made in Figure 6. This is a new thylacine, carrying only vestiges of the representations that characterised the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and its appearances are discussed in relation to attempts at changing perceptions of this species and others by zoological societies, institutions, and personalities as manifest in natural history publications and newspapers emanating from Tasmania, the United States and Britain. The conversions of the figure and moves toward conservation are not always aligned, particularly in the State of Tasmania where ambivalent attitudes are expressed through the disinclination to provide protection for the species, while at the same time displaying its image on the State's coat of arms and the label of a local beer.

The Images

The first refigured image of the thylacine was produced for a major Tasmanian manufacturing company and it marks the beginning of the use of representations of the species in advertising and on labels that continues today (**conv. a**). The Cascade Brewery

began operation in 1832 and, positioned below Mount Wellington, soon became an integral part of the southern Tasmanian landscape. The success of the enterprise was related to the abundant, fresh, mountain water of the Cascades on Hobart Rivulet at the edge of Hobart Town, still "a constant source of the purest and sweetest water in the world" (Bingham 111) and associated with the 'purity' of the wilderness environment nearby. The Brewery supplied the fifty-five hotels in colonial Hobart in 1832 with what was considered very fine ale at the Intercolonial Exhibition in Melbourne in 1866-67 and the Sydney Exhibition in 1879 (Bingham 24). The thylacine on the advertisement for Degraves' brewery is a vessel for the projection of qualities Tasmania was believed to possess in the nineteenth century and today – a healthy, exotic and wild environment. Colonial artist William Piguenit painted a poster that includes a label design with a thylacine figure on the bottom left hand corner; as a representation it generates little negativity, except for its slightly open mouth. Today, the label of the Cascade premium lager label features a version of H.C. Richter's pair from Gould's *The Mammals of Australia* complete with narrowed eyes and prominent stripes that continue down the length of their tails (Illus. 8 and see Figure 4). However, much more innocuous dog-like images of the thylacine are used extensively in the Company's print and television advertising and are embossed on the product's bottles. The roots of the appropriation, exploitation and distortion of images of the thylacine by the Company can also be observed in the figure of the thylacine on top of a Cascade barrel, sculpted in the 1870s by stonemason Edward Martin Richards, that now adorns the top of the Company's head office in Hobart (Bingham 112).



Illus. 8 Cascade Premium lager advertisement (1998+). Current label derived from Gould's lithograph.

The thylacine, then, has a long history of use as an icon for the brewery and a selling point for its beer. This use anticipates the iconic status of the thylacine, the requisition of the species as a symbol of Tasmania, and its association with a range of commercial and government institutions in Tasmania, as well as a continued connection with its 'wild' environment. Now, huge advertisements for Cascade's products in Australian airport lounges show a striped dog-like creature drinking from a secluded waterhole surrounded by ferns and thick vegetation (Illus. 8). Ironically, this image segues into the idea of Tasmania as a tourist destination, promoted for its 'wilderness' landscape, its rugged mountains, wild rivers, and mysterious forests – the very elements that were utilised in the construction of the thylacine as a dangerous, wolf-like animal that was a threat to the pastoral industry.

The tradition of using museum specimens as models for engraved illustrations in natural history works continued in early twentieth-century publications, including newspapers, but with zoo animals being used instead. Pictorial newspaper, the *Illustrated Australian News*, includes a thylacine in their feature on Melbourne Zoological Gardens in 1880 **(conv. b)**. The zoo is described as "one of the pleasantest and most attractive forms of amusement to young colonials" and the Marsupial wolf, or Native Tiger as "peculiar to Tasmania, and found most destructive to sheep or defenceless cattle". The thylacine in the picture, however, presumably drawn with reference to the animal in the zoo, is not endowed with any ferocious features, although there is a faint meanness in the tapering nose and deep-set eye, and its demeanour contrasts with that of other animals on the page. As with many of the later entries for the thylacine in publications discussed in previous chapters, there is now a dissonance between image and text, but because the narrative is so well established and a drawing requires deliberate choices between eye and hand, this image can be regarded as a refiguring in the representation of the thylacine. Paddle records a pair of thylacines at Melbourne Zoo from 1875 and 1881 and, later, it was one of the only zoos that successfully bred the species in captivity (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 224-31). Much more positive resonances than those generated by previous images now appear in this figure; they construct an animal that presents little threat and there is often a sense of respect, or even concern, associated with a representation.

Three of the following images seem to be derived from a specimen in the British Museum, as they all have a slightly hunched back, very similar placing of the legs and tail, and a raised head similar to a mounted specimen currently on display in the Museum. When conv. c, d and g are viewed together they seem to form a sequence of images that have much in common with this specimen; in addition, the texts that accompany two of these images indicate that a specimen in the Museum was the model for the illustrations and all were published in London. However, it is not known when this specimen arrived in the Natural

History department and only three of the five mounts once held there now survive intact, so it is possible that another of this institution's specimens may have been used (Daphne Hills pers. comm. 17/9/04; Sleightholme CD3 and pers. comm. 20/8/05)[207]. From 1885 to 1906 the *Guide to the Galleries of Mammalia in the British Museum* included an engraving of the thylacine after a drawing by C. Berjeau (**conv. c**). The body is similar to the figure in conv. d, with a slightly hunched back, raised head and one leg in front of the other. The strange, twisted, and uneven quality of the stripes on this and other figures may have been influenced by the faded quality of the stripes on the specimen, the condition of which is suggested from the mount that is presently on display in the British Museum. The figure is placed in a rocky setting with grasses and leaves behind it, so that the source or model for the image is disengaged from its location and endowed with 'naturalness' (*Guide to Mammalia* 56).

The image and text for the thylacine in Frederick Aflalo's book *A Sketch of the Natural History of Australia with some notes on sport*, published in 1896, indicates that time had not affected the capacity for incorrect and fanciful representations (**conv. d**). Quotations in the front of the book, however, show that a different attitude toward animal species may have prevailed; one states wryly "Animals are such agreeable friends – they ask no questions", while the other, more pertinently, comments that "Wild animals never kill for sport. Man is the only one to whom the torture and death of his fellow creatures is amusing in itself" (Aflalo title page). The image of the thylacine in this work has unusually small ears, but this is explained in the text that states: "with regard to the ears, it is worthy of remark that, except in some books and museums, these are invariably kept folded and never erect. A watchful thylacine, pricking its ears, is to be found in a certain popular book, but nowhere else". In the copy of the work that I accessed, that is stamped with 'Launceston Mechanics Institute' (an early library in the north of Tasmania), someone has added the handwritten qualification "except when alert" (Aflalo 65). The ears on the figure in the illustration appear to be facing forwards and obviously Aflalo felt that this was the accustomed position of this organ. With the exception of this feature, the animal in the illustration is similar to the specimen in Gallery 23 at the British Museum (below). That the writer had not observed a living animal is indicated by the next line in which he repeats the long-abandoned story of a compressed tail and marine predation, including the additional fancy that it does not "swim abroad" because of the danger of sharks. Sheep and poultry killing are mentioned and then the erroneous comment that the first living thylacines were presented to London Zoo in 1849 and have "never been replaced". There were, in fact, thylacines in London Zoo in the 1860s,

[207] Daphne Hills is curator of mammals in the Zoology Department at the British Museum (Natural History). Recent advice from Stephen Sleightholme (pers. comm. 7/9/05) suggests that the specimen presently on display was acquired in 1896, after conv. c appeared. If his evidence is accepted, it is unlikely that this specimen was the model for conv. c and its copy, conv. g, but it still may have been the model for conv. d.

1880s and early 1890s (Moeller 158-9; Edwards, *List of Thylacines* passim) but no photographs of the animal survive from this period.

The possibility of the thylacine's extinction is stressed in the text that accompanies **conv. e(i)** published in 1897 in a German work *Das Thierreich* by Dr Heck, the director of the Berlin Zoo, and Paul Matschie of the Museum of Natural History in Berlin and others. Placental chauvinism is also dominant in this text as the title 'marsupial wolf' is considered appropriate and the "clumsiness and lack of perfection in the head and tail construction" is deemed characteristic of marsupials in comparison to more "highly developed mammals" (Heck et al. 662, trans. Dagmar Nordberg). Heck et al. admit they have not been able to examine this animal because it is "a great rarity in zoological gardens", so they repeat the tale of marine predation and Harris's story of a consumed echidna. As the thylacine became even more rare, rhetorical representations seem to become vague, or rely on early narratives about the species. On the other hand, this illustration reflects the emergence of biological studies that concentrated on the structure of species and the difference between different classifications. In this lithographic visual construction of the Order *Marsupalia* (Beuteltiere) the thylacine and devil take on the soft rounded shapes and the innocent expressions of the possum, koala and kangaroo. The position and attitude of the thylacine resembles the animal in *Brockhaus Konversations-Lexicon* (vars. c),[208] but when the image is copied in a British publication, *The Natural History of Animals* by J. R Ainsworth Davis, the bodies of the marsupials are changed so that they project a more intense, slightly distasteful, attitude **(conv. e(ii)).** This effect is achieved through the definition of musculature in the drawing, so that the roundness becomes associated with strength rather than smoothness; through an exaggeration of the lines on the face and narrowing of the animal's eyes, including the removal of shading and lines that accentuated their roundness; and through hunching and contraction of the body shape, achieved both through the outline of the body and the shading of the muscular regions (136). Comparison of the two pictures provides a very clear example of how quite different representations are produced in different countries by the use of a different style, even though the techniques used are similar. These two images have the capacity to produce different responses toward the animals they depict; an indication of the power and complexity of visual images of the thylacine.

The work in which the next image occurs is one of only three discussed in this thesis that is written by a woman **(conv. f).** L. Beatrice Thomson relates that she spent many mornings

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[208] I have been unable to identify the model for these images as it does not resemble any of the specimens currently in Museums and Universities in Germany. The only taxidermy specimen in existence from Berlin, a mount in the Museum fur Naturkunde at Humboldt University that is dated 1864, is in a conventional standing position (Sleightholme CD3), so unless the artist(s) employed considerable licence, this was not the model for the two illustrations.

over five years with the "inmates" of Regents' Park Zoo in London as an art student at the turn of the twentieth century. Thompson appears to have had physical contact with many of the animals during this time, writing about the "touch" of the kinkajou and chinchilla and the impossibility of drawing the tree-kangaroo because it always came too close to perceive. Her book is called *Who's Who at the Zoo*, an anthropomorphic title that gives the animals importance, if only in their own 'world', while at the same time implying that in this human construction of 'the zoo' some are endowed with more importance than others. The notes on the thylacine mention the recent interesting addition of a male "Tasmanian wolf thylacine, or zebra opossum" and suppose that he will be "the last of his rapacious race to dwell in Regent's Park, for it is fast vanishing" due to extermination on account of its "depredations on Tasmanian sheep farms" (Thompson 75). The remainder of the entry repeats other well-known phrases applied to the thylacine in many works over the previous century, supplies an unusually detailed description of the stripes and their position and notes that "the large dark eyes in no way resemble those of a wolf, but rather those of the kangaroo or deer" (76). This resemblance is not apparent in the drawing, where a lowered brow implies ferocity, but the proportions and stance of the figure are comparable to photographs of the thylacine taken several years after this book was published (see fig. 5c). Thompson's image and text exemplify how old prejudices were interwoven with the new observations possible to those who were able to gain proximity to the thylacine in the years before the species disappeared. This juxtaposition of values has been perceptible since the earliest first-hand account – that is, an observation made from close enough to touch the animal –sent by George Harris to Joseph Banks. Images made from specimens and previous drawings did not exhibit the contradictions seen in Thomson's work, nor do they show the concern that appears fleetingly in Harris's description; this lack of contact with a live animal is one of the reasons why such negative constructions developed and blossomed.

It appears that **conv. g** is modelled on conv. c, as the writer and artist, Theo Johnson, notes that "only one authentic portrait [of the thylacine] was by me obtainable, and from that I made my drawing" (*Rare Exhibits* Preface). This portrait he alludes to is probably the engraving in that standard catalogue of animals, the *Guide to the Mammalia*. Because Johnson's illustration is an original drawing, the figure has not been reversed and its feet are in an almost identical position, its back is similarly hunched, head raised and nose turned up slightly. Conv. c and d are also facing the same way, implying that they have been drawn from a specimen facing in the same direction and accessible only from one side and from barely differing angles, supporting the case for the model being the mount on display in Gallery 23. The source of conv. g is mentioned in the preface of the book in which it appears – *Some Rare Exhibits by the Zoological Society of London* – published in 1907, with

hand-drawn title page, acknowledgments and painted illustrations on card inserted into the printed text. The writer explains that the book represents ten years' recollections of the Zoo, during which there were thylacines resident at Regent's Park. Like Beatrice Thompson, Johnson writes a personal account of the animals in London Zoo outside the conventions of scientific discourse and is one of few writers to mention the derivation of common names from European forms, commenting that he "greatly prefers the name Tasmanian Thylacine" to names like "the Devil". He regards the thylacine as a creature of "considerable beauty" that is "wholly destitute of that untameable savagery and ferocious aspect which have given the 'Native Devil' its fitting name". He considers the species is "trembling" on the verge of extinction and compares it to the quagga, but further information in the entry indicates that Johnson, too, relied on earlier works for his information as details of the thylacine's mythological marine predation and habitat of "caverns and clefts of the rocks" is supplied, along with the species' "agility" that may have led to a few cases of "successful defiance in the face of relentless foes". Johnson also reveals that it was in 1850, when the first pair was housed in the Carnivore Terraces in the Zoological Gardens, that he saw these "beautiful animals" and that he has seen no more since (*Rare Exhibits* 64-5). As stated above, there were a number of thylacines in London Zoo in the years between 1850 and the appearance of this book, but they seem to have escaped the notice of many who visited the Zoo.

In Tasmania, the rarer the real thylacine became, the more visible were its representations. A lithograph drawn from a photograph on a membership certificate issued by the Tasmanian Field Naturalist's Club in 1910 implies that the thylacine linked ideas about the Tasmanian environment with perceptions of place and identity (**conv. h**). The figure at the base of a tree trunk is a copy of one of the thylacines in fig. 5k, transposed from the straw-covered zoo enclosure to an idealised natural setting that includes an owl and tree ferns. It is, indeed, a 'beautiful' representation that shows how far an artist can proceed toward producing an image that is both naturalistic and sympathetic. This animal's position is believable, not 'posed'; it seems about to raise its head and look the viewer in the eye and the anticipation of the thylacine's imagined gaze enlivens this image. As Ludwig comments on the effect of Joseph Wolf's illustrations of birds that "use the eye of the subject to powerfully engage the onlooker", every possibility of engagement heightens the awareness of the viewer (Schulze-Hagen and Geus 81). The stance of the figure is not unlike the positions seen in line drawings of Aboriginal rock engravings, some of which are included in the prologue to this thesis, and it also resembles the highly successful dog-like image that connects with the viewer in advertisements for Cascade lager (see Illus. 8). Part of the appeal of the illustration derives from the capacities of its photographic source: it captures a momentary

movement, a simple turn of the body and expresses the epitome of animal behaviour – it is lithe, relaxed and observant.

The concern for the thylacine projected by the image, however, was not matched by actions. Executed by Charles T. Harrisson, a founding member of the Club, the image appeared just two years after the bounty on the thylacine was lifted on a certificate issued in response to late membership fees paid by the organisation's participants. Janet Fenton's recent history of the Club reveals that the plants and animals on the certificate were regarded as "typical Tasmanian subjects" (19). Formed in 1904, the Club included among its members many prominent Tasmanian biologists, botanists, zoologists, ornithologists and geologists and as Fenton, points out, with natural history still a subject of considerable interest, much of the flora and fauna of the island was still waiting to be recorded and classified (1-14).[209] Fenton states that thylacines were often the subject of interest, noting reports of sightings and David Elliot's "plea" for areas to be "set aside, wherein the thylacine may hunt sufficient game for the maintainance [sic] of full breeding conditions and well-being" and recommending the Florentine Valley as an appropriate site (66). However, this plea was not made until 1949 – too late to be of value even if it had been acted upon, although reports of thylacine sightings continued to be made in the Club's minutes in 1953 and 1959. No specific conservation recommendations regarding the species appear to have been made between 1904 and the 1930s – years that were crucial to the species' survival.

The identification of the thylacine with the State of Tasmania was formalised with the approval in 1917 and proclamation in 1919 of a new State coat of arms (**conv. i**). It is, perhaps, the ultimate irony that two thylacines hold the shield on which symbols of the State's prosperity are arranged – hops, relating to beer; a thunderbolt representing electricity; a 'garb' signifying agriculture; and, in the centre of the shield, a ram standing for the pastoral industry. A British lion with pick-axe and spade stands above the shield; the thylacines take the role of 'supporters'. In one sense, the 'elevation' of the thylacine to the coat of arms and their role as supporters of the industries pictured is entirely appropriate: indeed, members of the species carried the burden of European imagination and aspirations until their demise. To fulfil their emblematic function on the coat of arms the form of the thylacines is manipulated to convey a power and authority they never held after European settlement of the island. Now they are dog-like creatures again, but with deep chests, strong legs and confident expressions. They take on the pose, attitude and even shape of the shield-bearing animals that traditionally appear on many coats of arm; they are comparable to the emu,

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[209] This organisation extended the role of the two museums and the Royal Society of Tasmania by allowing 'amateurs' to take part in activities.

kangaroo and lion on Australian and British ensigns that suggest the qualities of the State. The smooth outline of their bodies gives the images a symbolic distance from the real animal and their dignified form disguises the failure of the State to protect the species. It has been suggested that remorse motivated the choice of the thylacine for the coat of arms, but the way they are represented is a little like hanging a corpse from a tree for public display: their presence signifies the State's power to exterminate species. These figures have little relation to the real animal: they are empty images, containers for ideas relating to human political traditions and desires. Only the vestige of any idea relating to reality remains – it pertains to uniqueness. The arms signify the final death of the thylacine as a living animal or a representation with any integrity. As Baker says of later twentieth-century animal representations, "such meanings as there are operate largely independently of the living animal even if they once derived from it or even now apply to it" (*Picturing the Beast* [1993] 28). In the emblem, the stereotype of the species is transformed; only the distinctiveness of the form remains to function as a paradox, a gaping loss and an embarrassment. And in the twenty first century, as knowledge and memory of the real animal fade away, the arms become a strange, contorted, misunderstood sign.

This image is only one of dozens of logos and emblems in use in Tasmania today. The State government uses a stylised image of a 'tiger' emerging from a bank of grass as a letterhead, on car licence plates, frosting the glass doors to its departmental offices, and heading job advertisements. A thylacine appears on the coat of arms of Launceston City Council, as the logo for a bus line, a football team and the Tasmanian Cricket Association. Its image has appeared on stamps, on potato bags, on tourist brochures, and in a bronze foursome on the University of Tasmania's ornate mace carried at graduation ceremonies.[210] It is significant that the common name 'tiger' is dominant today: it now has associations with strength, ferocity, aggression, beauty and exoticism. It is an appropriate term for use by a football team, a political body, or an authoritative institution, as it does not carry the connotations of cowardliness associated with the 'hyena' or 'wolf'. While emblematic images such as these keep some idea of the thylacine in the visual field, they do nothing to confront or appease the loss of the species. Their ubiquitous presence only anaesthetises the senses and disguises the living animals' absence.

The failure of Tasmanian scientific institutions to mount a timely response to the plight of the species is embodied in the last image discussed in this chapter (**conv. j**). In 1927

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[210] Notes about the mace in the University's file state that while it is traditionally "an aggressive weapon and an authority symbol", efforts were made to reduce the elements of power and authority by substituting an object that "carries its own authority as an artwork, as sculpture" (UTAS Records Office). If so, the work appears to elevate the artists involved, rather than the thylacine.

Colbron Pearse designed a seal and medal for the Royal Society of Tasmania, formed in 1843 as the first Royal Society outside the United Kingdom. This design, replacing the British-inspired logo with lion and crown, features a thylacine on a map of Tasmania with a crown above it. Pearse was a staff member at the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart and the medal was to be awarded for eminence in research to recipients born or resident in Tasmania and who had contributed to the community over a long period of time (*Royal Society Minutes* 9/5/1927). No details of the discussion concerning the design of the medal are recorded; the Society's minutes merely state "a discussion took place" and that a sub-committee was formed to draft a design and report to the next meeting. But some of the attitudes of the general community are indicated by the response to a very similar 'kangaroo and map' design that appeared on the first Australian stamp issued in 1913 and a number of stamps that followed. The desire of Postmaster-General Frazer was that "something emblematic of Australia" appeared on the stamp, rather than the King's head.[211] The stamp was intended to be an "advertisement for Australia" and many draft designs featured animals. When the first one-penny stamp was finally released, newspapers mocked the design, feeling that the "dejected" kangaroo "perched on the continent of Australia" was a "grotesque and ridiculous" choice as a national symbol, and the simplicity of the design atypical of stamps at that time. The *Daily Telegraph* considered the design "against good taste" and "against the canons of art". On the appointment of a new Postmaster the following year, the kangaroo and map stamps were abolished and replaced with a 'King's head' design, although the two shilling version continued to be produced until 1948 (Breckon 8-15). Narelle Jubelin, a contemporary stamp designer, considers the stark appearance of the kangaroo and map stamp as "radical for its time" and "startling in its break with tradition"; she considers that the "misplaced" kangaroo begs the key national question of what Australia's identity actually is, when so many of its inhabitants are, in fact, *dis*-placed from European [and Asian] cultures (Breckon 17-19).

The Royal Society of Tasmania's medal and seal may well have been influenced by the stamp design and in this respect could also be considered "radical" in its use of an animal such as the thylacine starkly outlined against the map of Tasmania. That drawing attention to the species in this way was deliberate, is supported by evidence that Clive Lord, the secretary of the Society and Director of the Tasmanian Museum in 1927 when the medal was established, was particularly active in attempts to protect the thylacine.[212] In the 1926 edition of the *Proceedings of the Society* his article "Existing Tasmanian Marsupials" was published, in which he commented on the recent scientific conferences in Australia that

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[211] The earliest known version of this design by Blamire Young omitted Tasmania from the map (Breckon 8).
[212] Lord was the recipient of a Royal Society medal in 1930.

stressed the importance of native animals and "the need for a better system of conservation, for, with the advance of settlement, many forms of animals like are being reduced in numbers". He continues:

> our fauna consists, to a very large extent of archaic types, which, when brought into sudden contact with more advanced forms, rapidly decline. In addition to man, in the ordinary process of settlement, the native fauna has to contend with numerous introduced species, which latter almost invariable tend to *displace* the indigenous forms previously existing (Lord, "Existing Tasmanian Marsupials" 17, my italics).

Lord laments the lack of a systematic biological survey of Australian animals, as pointed out by visiting American observers (see Moves toward Conservation later in this chapter) and sees his brief résumé of Tasmanian *Marsupalia* as a contribution to amending this lack. In relation to the thylacine, Lord quotes John Gould's 'forecast' of extinction and notes that the species is now "confined practically to the rugged western portion of the island" where it is being further reduced because it is said they interfere with the trappers' snares. He explains that "as a result, powerful 'springer' snares are set often in the vicinity of 'skinning yards' which are situated every quarter of a mile or so along the lines of snares". He adds that thylacines caught in these snares were often too severely injured to be kept alive. Lord then suggests that, as "the shy animal" is unlikely to breed in the confines of a Zoo, it is "in the interests of science" that a reserve be set aside and netted in order to prevent the total extermination of the species. He then includes a lengthy description of the thylacine's habits. These paragraphs contain phrases such as "timid animal", "hunts alone", and "appears very like a dog", but Lord also maintains that the thylacine only sucks the blood of a slaughtered sheep and mentions *one* male animal that "used to regularly leave a trail of slaughtered sheep along the same line of march each year" until he was eventually trapped (Lord, "Existing Tasmanian Marsupials" 20-2).[213] Although he gives more space to the thylacine than any other animal in his essay, the juxtaposed discourses and contradictory messages show how difficult it was in Tasmania to disentangle the myth and traditional stories from scientific evidence and conservation concerns. Nevertheless, as Paddle points out in a lengthy section on Lord's attempts to gain official protection for the thylacine, the Secretary of the Royal Society did more to prevent the extermination than almost any other individual in Tasmania (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 173-84). Five years later, in "Notes for

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[213] In an earlier book, *A Synopsis of the Vertebrate Animals of Tasmania*, written in conjunction with H.H. Scott, director of the Launceston Museum, the thylacine's resemblance to a wolf is stressed – "general character large and wolf-like" – the species is referred to as "Marsupial Wolf" and the head of a male from Gould's *Mammals of Australia* is used as an illustration (see Figure 3). Paddle (2000) traces the development of mythology concerning blood-sucking and the thylacine on pages 30-5 of his book *The Last Tasmanian Tiger*.

Members of the Council in reference to a proposed deputation to the Government", written not long before his sudden death, Lord merely outlines the need for scientific study of the natural assets of a country and notes their importance to "prosperity". He does not mention conservation imperatives, nor take the opportunity to lobby for the establishment of the reserves he considered so important several years earlier (*Notes for Members* 1). While the Royal Society's seal with the thylacine on the map of Tasmania is a refiguring of the species in relation to Tasmania, when it appears as a stamp on the title page of many of the books accessed for this thesis and adorns copies of the *Proceedings of the Royal Society* of Tasmania, it is also a constant reminder of the failure of institutions in Tasmania to support moves to prevent the extermination of the species. This lack of action will now be considered in relation to moves toward conservation in other parts of Australia and the wider world before and after 1927.

Moves toward Conservation

The loudest voices calling for conservation of Australia's animals, including the thylacine, came from America. Some of the personalities and institutions involved in pressuring for sanctuaries to be set up, campaigning successfully for wildlife statutes to be passed, and the implementation of International treaties have been mentioned in Figures 5 and 6. As early as 1895 the New York Zoological Society was formed to advance wildlife conservation and promote the study of zoology. Founder Henry Osborn and director William Hornaday were key figures in efforts to protect the animals of North America and promote these values internationally. Osborn's work, *Preservation of the Wild Animals of North America*, published in 1904, was followed by an article in the *American Museum Journal* on the "Preservation of the World's Animal Life" in 1912, where he remarks that "the conservation sentiment, feeble in its inception a few decades ago, becomes daily more powerful". He attributes this transformation in attitude to the work of nature writers, such as John Muir; the direct efforts of associations like the Audubon Society; the substitution of the camera for the gun; and the work of zoologists and biologists. He maintains that "in every part of the English-speaking world the principle of conservation is taking firmer hold on public opinion, as shown both in expression in literature and action in legislation", but he also notes the strength of "commercial interests" that opposed these sentiments. Osborn lists the countries that had enacted laws to protect wildlife, limit the use of weapons, and preserve forests and animal life: Australia is not among them (*American Museum* 123-4).

Hornaday, however, in an outspoken and influential work called *Our Vanishing Wildlife* published the following year, included a photograph and entry for the thylacine in the

chapter on "Extinct and Nearly Extinct Species" with comments from W.H. Le Souëf, director of the Melbourne Zoo, and Mrs Roberts of Beaumaris Zoo, that the "sheep-owners and herdsmen" were systematically exterminating the remnants of the species (Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife* 38). Meanwhile, a collecting and exchange trip to Australia by American biologists W.K. Gregory and H.C. Raven for the American Museum of Natural History created considerable consternation among members of the Victorian and South Australian Museum communities, who felt that the scope and extent of collection for export purposes should be limited (Anon., "Mecca for Zoologists" 10; Anon., "Fauna for Export" np). This reaction occurred despite or perhaps even because of the fact that, under instructions from Osborn, the pair "lost no opportunity to impress upon Australians the necessity for protecting their unique and fast disappearing mammalian fauna" (Gregory, "Magazine" 65) (see also Figure 6). An editorial in a 1923 *Australian Museum Magazine* "deprecated" the desire to curtail the operations of scientific collectors and urged the control of trade in wild animals that has no object "but mere gain". In a corollary to this firm denunciation of protests against American activities, the editor C. Anderson, maintained that "if ... our marsupials are doomed to extinction, surely it is advisable that scientific institutions should be allowed to obtain the relatively few specimens necessary to exhibit to posterity the characteristics of these interesting animals" and that "surely our American cousins have the right to share our heritage" ("Magazine" 223-4). The interstate and international politics of museums obviously created conflict on this issue, while the requirements of animals became secondary to the needs of science, nation and individual and institutional aspirations.

Wildlife Conservation in Theory and Practice by William Hornaday, published in 1914, was responsible for establishing two of the key tenets of international conservation movements – "Human conquest of nature carries moral responsibly for the perpetuation of other life forms" and "Wanton consumption and merciless slaughter of wildlife is uncivilised" (Jepson and Canney 272). Philip Pauly reveals that, when on a specimen-collecting trip in 1886 for his former employer, the National Museum in Washington, Hornaday realised the American bison was nearly extinct but, when he took up the cause of preservation, he was eased out of government service. Federal campaigns were organised "not to preserve nature, but to identify and maintain the particularly useful species, to introduce desirable exotics and to exclude and exterminate organisms noxious to industrious humans – from wolves and English sparrows to gypsy-moths and Mexican boll-weevils" (Pauly 277). Later, as director of the New York Zoological Society, the origin of the Wildlife Conservation Society, Hornaday carried out surveys of species in the United States and Alaska and on the basis of these surveys he led the campaign for new laws to protect wildlife. His extensive essay on

the fur trade in the Zoological Society Bulletin in 1921 included figures for skins of Australian animals, such as the Tasmanian possum, the koala and kangaroos. In a section headed "The tragedy of the Koala", he revealed that 32,376 koala skins had been sold in five auction sales in the United States and Canada, listed as "wombat skins". Ten of these skins, sold at fifty cents each, made up a short coat. He appealed to Australian authorities to stop the destruction because "no fauna on earth can withstand the strain that has been put upon the mammals of the Antarctic continent" (Hornaday, "The Fur Trade and the Wild Animals" 34-6). Hornaday suggested reforms and education to implement the conservation of species and, the following year, Osborn published a similar article under the banner "Can we Save the Mammals?" in the *Journal of the American Museum* 22: 6. In 1923, the Report of the Museum noted that "the fur trade is making terrible inroads in Australia: this explains the urgency of our expedition, initiated by Dr Gregory and conducted by Mr Raven, which is securing superb collections" (Harding 12). These urgent and well publicised appeals by the leading United States zoological institutions seemed to have an effect, for in the following years published reports and comments were also made in Australia.

One of the most extensive of these appeals was contained in James Barrett's book *Save Australia: A Plea for the Right Use of Our Flora and Fauna*, published in 1925. Barrett stresses, as the Americans had, the unique qualities of Australian animals – the result of their early isolation – and on page 2 he quotes the American Museum of Natural History Annual Report 1921 on vanishing wildlife, noting that many collecting expeditions and private collectors were inundating Australia to obtain specimens before they were exterminated. In the chapter "The Mammals of Australia" the thylacine is designated 'extremely rare' and the establishment of a breeding and experimental reservation at Healesville, in Victoria, by Colin Mackenzie is urged. Mackenzie wrote extensively on the medical importance of animals (see Figure 2), set up a National Institute of Anatomy and was in the forefront of research into disease and the "lessons" the bodies of animals could offer to the study of human health (Anon., "Sherbrooke Animal Sanctuary to Aid Scientists" np). In the following years the Australian media ran newspaper reports on the destruction of possums (*Argus* 17/7/26), the open season on the koala and possum in Queensland (*Age* 1/9/27 and *Herald* 14/9/27) and the need for federal protection of native species tabled with the Constitution Commission (*Morning Post* 19/10/27). Meanwhile, The Royal Society of Tasmania protested against the proposal by the Tasmanian Inland Fisheries Commission to remove protection at present existing for the platypus (*Herald* 10/8/27) and Clive Lord proclaimed the conservation of Tasmania's fauna "disastrous" in an article in the *Mercury* newspaper that, again, quotes the Annual Report of the American Museum of Natural History's 1921 comments on the vanishing wildlife of Australia at its head:

> We are approaching the close of the age of mammals all over the world, but in no continent has the devastation been more rapid that in that of Australia, owing to three reasons: Deforestation, an enormous fur trade, and an increasing leather trade (Lord, "Vanishing Wild Life" 23/5/1928).

Lord adds "in no other part of the Commonwealth in the past five years has the destruction of our fauna been more pronounced than in Tasmania". He maintains that fees were paid for four million wallaby and opossum skins and that the government received £66,717 in royalties and licences, implying that "the collection of licence fees for destruction is more important than conservation". He notes that in the past, the cry has been that open seasons are necessary to relieve unemployment, but questions the expertise of "the average unemployed man" to successfully engage in trapping. He also notes that in America and Canada "great attention is being paid to the subject" of conservation and special departments have control of fisheries and game laws and that international treaties have been signed as regards migratory animals and birds. He mentions Colin MacKenzie and the foundation of a "great zoological research station" in Canberra; the economic aspects of open seasons; that Tasmania possesses fauna "even more unique than the mainland, but very little has been done to preserve it"; and that there are some bright spots, including the increase of the plover. Lord also mentions that in Tasmania the advice from the Commonwealth Fauna Advisory Board has been "systematically disregarded as far as open seasons are concerned" and that little attention has been paid to its own officers and the protests of scientific societies. He cites 100 sanctuaries established in Queensland and more than 50 in Western Australia, but only one (Mount Field) set aside in Tasmania ("Vanishing Wild Life " 23/5/28).

The British Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire was rather slower to give their concern and support to the thylacine. In 1927 it is not listed among those animals "at present ... in grave danger of early extermination through human agency", although dugongs and right whales are; and it is not until after the protection of the species by Tasmania's Fauna Board that queries about the viability of the thylacine appear. In 1938, a letter from the Society to the Animals and Birds Protection Board in Hobart following press reports of sightings in the wild generated this response: "the Animals and Birds Protection Board, in every way possible, is endeavouring to preserve the remaining specimens of the Tasmanian native Tiger for as long a period as is possible". The Board's secretary, E.P. Andrewartha, mentions the existence of laws preventing the taking of, the possession of, or the sending away of specimens, and searches conducted to discover the location of remaining thylacines. When the current search was completed the Board intended to request approval for a Sanctuary under the Animals and Birds Protection Act. In the following year, as mentioned

in Figure 5, a shortened version of Graham Renshaw's essay in *More Natural History Essays* appeared in the Society's journal and then two brief reports on the expeditions of 1937, 1938 and 1939 appear in the journal. A longer report by Michael Sharland, a Tasmanian naturalist involved in one of these trips, appeared in the *Bulletin of the New York Zoological Society* in 1941, and in an even longer form in the *Proceedings of the Royal Zoological Society of New South Wales* 1938-9. These expeditions, which visited the Franklin district between the centre of Tasmania and the Gordon River at Macquarie Harbour on the western coast, found considerable evidence that the species existed in viable numbers. The recommendations in all these journals included that

> the Tasmanian government reserve a large section of the western part of the State as a faunal sanctuary where the thylacine, together with the Tasmanian devil (*Sarcophilus*) and smaller game will be free from molestation by trappers and casual shooters, to whom the construction of a new road to the west coast has opened up game country, mineral lands and rich hardwood forests which were hitherto inaccessible (Sharland, "Tasmania's Rare Tiger" 88).

Although he did not specifically mention the thylacine, as early as 1906 local photographer J.W. Beattie had put forward the idea of a reserve on Schouten Peninsula on the island's eastern coast, citing the large number of skins emanating from the Swansea district as exemplifying the need for such protection. Suggestions such as this and those made in 1919 by Mary Roberts, proprietor of Beaumaris Zoo, in regard to the urgent need for an amendment of the Game Protection Act (Guiler, "Beaumaris Zoo" 26), were small but essential moves toward the preservation of native animals generally. But as Paddle points out, in the early years of the twentieth century groups within Tasmania like the Royal Society, the Field Naturalist's Club, the Scenery Preservation Board and the Animal's and Birds Protection Board, as well as individuals, publicised the likely extinction of the thylacine and pressured for protective measures to be taken to little avail (*Last Tasmanian Tiger* 173-84). It took persistent action by institutions and individuals in other parts of the world to add to their chorus before any moves were made and then they were 'too little, too late'.

Summary

Images considered in this chapter transform the figure of the thylacine, overlap with previous Figures and indicate that images generating a variety of ideas were circulating simultaneously in the early twentieth century. For instance, it is clear from Figure 6 that

very negative representations continued to be produced, especially in natural history works, until the disappearance of the species, while the images in this chapter project a more sympathetic impression, or perhaps they merely indicate an absence of interest, a dissolving of European fears and anxieties now that the animal had almost disappeared from the landscape. Conv. i and j show how images of the thylacine infiltrated public consciousness via official and commercial emblems that were much more visible than the illustrations that appeared in zoological and natural history works, where a change in perception was slow to take hold. Paradoxically, many of these publications persisted in picturing the least attractive representations of the thylacine as part of their scientific discourse and, by the authority they carried and as a source for popular images, they continued to contribute to the idea that the thylacine was a threat to human endeavours, even though few members of the species remained.

Primarily, the images in conversions visualise the future use of the form of the thylacine – as a receptacle for commercial products and desires, a figurehead for institutions of power and authority in the State of Tasmania, and as an icon for the extinction of animal species. The figure of the thylacine is now seen as an expression of the island's chief characteristic – difference from the mainland states of Australia and from the populous places of the world, although there is "no consistent and reliable relation between the animal depicted and the meanings conveyed or even intended". The power of the image "rests on a most fragile foundation". As Baker suggests: the animal figure is used in this way simply because it is *available* out there in the culture; its animality is overlooked (*Picturing the Beast* [1993] 34, 43); in the case of the thylacine the causes of its extinction are denied or suppressed; it has an invisible history; it becomes simply a symbol of something else. In Tasmania, pictures of the thylacine on official documents, tourist brochures, tourist buses, tea towels and beer labels are now an ever-present part of island life, making increasing demands on members of the community and exercising greater mastery than was dreamt of by "ancient idolaters". In their operation, the essential attitudes toward pictures – idolatry, fetishism and totemism – that Mitchell identifies, are exemplified. He defines idols as images that want the worship of the masses, "a gathered body of spectators whose experience is multiplied and reinforced by its sense of belonging to a collective gaze focused on a single object". Fetishes, on the other hand, want only one beholder "a voyeur cloistered in a private space, observing without being observed. They are lost parts of the beholder's body that want to come home. They don't want to be beheld so much as held". Totems leave the beholder enlightened, initiated into a community of understanding, or interpellated into a collective ideology" ("What Do Pictures Want?" 226). Logos and emblems of the thylacine are privileged over the real

animal: in their embodiment of rarity they now give a sense of identity to Tasmania and its inhabitants. The thylacine is a very valuable icon for a tourist destination.

CONCLUSION

In October, 2001, during the first year of researching this thesis, I sat in the library at University House, Canberra Australia, discussing ancient rock art with Kingsley Palmer, writer of the paper "Aboriginal Art and the Limits of Social Science".[214]. He suggested that I base my research on the question 'why do people represent things?'. This query seemed to me to be altogether too big and too philosophical so I forgot about it, until, nearly four years later, I came to write this Conclusion and realised that in fact I had discovered at least one reason why both Aboriginal people and European settlers represented the thylacine. Most importantly, why British artists, writers, publishers and scientists represented the species in zoological and natural history works in the way that they did. My analysis reveals the social construction of the thylacine. It 'denaturalises' the images and exposes how they are framed by the discourses of science, imperialism, and economics. It deconstructs them by revealing the system of signs through which their messages are generated. Images emerge as value-laden rather than objective, especially when read in conjunction with their texts: they are part of what Linda Nochlin terms "the vast control mechanism of colonialism, designed to justify and perpetuate European dominance" (119) over land, people and animals. The images I discuss illustrate the power humans exercise over non-human species through visual and verbal constructions of them.

The results of this research confirm the proposition outlined in the Introduction: that visual images of the thylacine in zoological and natural history works in the nineteenth and early twentieth century promoted ideas and encouraged actions that were conducive to the extinction of the species. The way the thylacine was figured and defined – what was presented as a 'thylacine' rather than any other animal – was not only an expression of the values and beliefs of European administrators and settlers, but perpetuated and intensified negative attitudes towards the species, particularly those that resulted in its extermination. For instance, many images of the thylacine construct the subject position of the species as dangerous to human interests, as an animal to be feared and destroyed. That these images expressed and encouraged feelings of hostility is suggested by subsequent or corresponding events in the process of the species' extinction. An example is fig. 2, the snarling fox-like image that appeared in 1841, not long after the Van Diemen's Land Pastoral Company bounty had been placed on the species. This image and its many copies discursively

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[214] Kingsley Palmer's paper is mentioned in the prologue to this thesis. He has written and many works about Aboriginal art and culture, is a former deputy head of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, and now an associate of the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research in Canberra, Australia.

renegotiates earlier constructions of the thylacine to justify and encourage its extermination on the grounds of unsubstantiated reports regarding the killing of livestock. The representation of the species as vermin, so effectively introduced in this image, supports moves toward solutions that favoured mass destruction. The images in Figure 4 constitute another peak in the production of negative visualisations: alignment of the thylacine with the wolf both in form and behaviour is supported by texts that were explicit in their condemnation of the species. The wolf-like illustrations in the 1880s (prevalent in Figures 3 and 4) precede and parallel the implementation of the government bounty in 1888. The illustrations that make up these two major figures embody the course of extinction in the form the animal takes, in the signifiers contained in them, in the situation of the models, in the discourses associated with them, and in the narratives that frame them. They slowly construct the thylacine as a fearful carnivore and then a species worthy of extinction. The photographs in Figure 6 amply demonstrate the persistence of images that suggest the idea of extermination and encouraged the process of extinction.

It is significant that the few illustrations that engender feelings of sympathy or admiration (or merely an absence of hostility) appear in journals, limited edition books, or were not so popular; others were not produced commercially, were published at the beginning of European settlement, or at the end of the study period when few thylacines survived. These include some very early images, such as Harris's in the *Transactions of the Linnean Society* that incorporate the uncertainties of settlers, perennial ideas about the colony and the situation of the thylacine, rather than hostility toward it. Similarly, French scientific illustrations in transformations that display motifs of abjection or delicacy, with only traces of negative rhetoric directing a reading of 'savagery' or 'threat' were unlikely to be readily accessed by English readers. Joseph Wolf's sympathetic response to the animals in London Zoo appears in a limited edition work. Broinoiwski's copy of Richter's lithograph that removes the exotic and savage signifiers was released in very limited numbers before its withdrawal. The photographic images of Figure 5 that show a handsome and entrapped animal or a docile creature and may have inspired concern were published as moves toward conservation began to be voiced. On the other hand, many illustrations that contain signifiers of abjection, absence or death, or suggest extinction was inevitable, or that the thylacine was low on the evolutionary scale so of little intrinsic value, occur throughout the period studied. Particularly in the milieux of nineteenth-century Darwinism and Creationism, images such as these had the potential to discourage any efforts toward saving the species.

A finding that supports the conclusion that images were constructed in terms of preconceived ideas and desires is the revelation that in the drawing stage of representation images

modelled on living members of the species exhibit sensitivity to an individual animal's situation. The effect of the real animal sometimes makes its way into an image. These exceptions serve to reinforce my argument – when conventional systems of zoological representation were ignored, or when the thylacine was figured outside the tenets of scientistic discourse, the resulting illustrations projected different ideas. These images show the potential of empirical observation or direct contact between *human* and animal, rather than contact with a 'zoologist' where the imperatives of classification, description and other cultural framing devices affect the picturing process. These images respond to the question "what do pictures want?" by inspiring care and concern for the thylacine. And it is significant that only one image in a natural history book was drawn from a live animal in Tasmania; this lacuna is suggestive of images conjured from myth or hearsay, rather than observation. While a greater occurrence of images drawn from first hand contact in a natural situation should not be seen as necessarily ensuring the thylacine's survival, a lack of them circulating in sites of influence – works read by those in authority, popular works in Tasmania, those available to administrative officials in Britain – supports the contention that ill-informed representations containing hostile signifiers influenced attitudes.

A number of other findings support the proposition that images in natural history works promoted ideas that were conducive to the extinction of the thylacine; in particular, the *texts* of these publications and other writing from 1808 to 1900 and often beyond assume the inevitability of the species' disappearance. Most of the labels given to images include the name of a European species that was either considered threatening, or was already extinct, or likely to be. The most common label is 'Marsupial Wolf' or 'Tasmanian Wolf'; significantly, this label occurs from about the middle of the nineteenth century until after the extinction of the species (see Table of Images in Volume 2). Many negative signifiers were intended to excite viewers and ensure sales of natural history works, or to sustain the interests of the Tasmanian pastoral industry and settlers in Australia in general. Negative images usually emanated from Britain, the most extreme of these are in works held in multiple copies by libraries in Tasmania: – an indication that they were easily available and therefore potentially influential. While some photographic images interrogate nineteenth-century constructions of the animal, only a few British or Australian works after 1900 urged conservation of the species, while the staged photograph of a specimen with a chicken in its mouth, passed off as a live animal, appeared in an Australian publication. How the species was represented, and the circulation of the most damning of these images, is consistent with the vested interests of British and Australian investors and landowners in exterminating the thylacine. Conversely, most of the images that contain few hostile signifiers and would be likely to engender sympathy toward the animal are French and German and none are

common in Tasmania. The views disseminated in British works consolidated into a discourse – that is, "a delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories ... outside which it is almost impossible to think" (Young 48) – that was highly damaging to the thylacine.

Indications of the circulation of these works confirm that images that expressed and generated hostility toward the thylacine were widespread in collections in Australia and/or Tasmania and so had the capacity to affect the ideas and processes that led to the extinction of the species. On the other hand, images that may have aroused sympathy are not common in Tasmanian libraries. The first image of a thylacine was published well before public libraries or large private collections were established in the colony and only one of the abject images in transformations is presently available in Tasmania, so it can be assumed that the delicate figures that appeared there were either unknown or uncommon in Tasmania and did not influence actions toward the species. Joseph Wolf's sensitive responses to the pair of thylacine's in Regent's Park Zoo were not well known generally, and presently only survive in one or two collections in mainland Australia. The robust images produced by German artists in variations are, likewise, rarely found in collections in Tasmania. The photographic images of Figure 5 are not particularly well represented in Tasmanian libraries today and, like images in other media, appear in books published outside the State. The most damaging photographic image – Harry Burrell's picture of a thylacine specimen with a chicken in its mouth – is in an Australian publication that was common in Tasmania. The majority of works were found in the major historical collections in Tasmania; however, verifying that particular titles were definitely part of Tasmanian collections during the period under study was beyond the scope of this research project.

On the other hand, images in natural history works are not fixed in a particular shape, nor pinned to pages; they reappear in newspapers and magazines – usually exaggerated or evolved into stereotypes. The ideas they generated about the thylacine also had the capacity to move independently of the works and images, travelling by word of mouth and many other means over vast distances and tracing many trajectories. The notions expressed by illustrations in zoological works were part of a *climate of opinion* that resulted in the extinction of the species. Images are one of the means by which clear messages and attitudes were imparted and beliefs toward the animal were shaped; ideas generated by these illustrations had the *capacity* to cause certain human behaviour. This qualification is necessary because the way images were read in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is sometimes difficult to determine and how they actually influenced the actions of ordinary people – in addition to those responsible for government and institutional decisions,

landowners, and scientific communities who proffered 'authoritative' opinions – is also difficult to assess. This analysis has used nineteenth-century accounts of responses to the images, evidence from other animals and their fate or survival, and knowledge of semiotic values and coding current at the time to identify clear trends in the messages they conveyed, to suggest how they might have been understood, and to indicate connections between the ideas they projected and the process of extinction. While the images encapsulate the ideas that led to extinction, other factors also influenced the reading of an image; for instance, how it was labelled worked to direct interpretation of a figure.

Central to my findings are the textual associations that relate to the wolf, an overwhelmingly common connection that was made even before the thylacine was sighted and was developed in imagetexts, in natural history works and in the popular press, particularly in the second half of the century. The fabricated image of the thylacine with a chicken is also a key figure, in that it confirms the argument that the thylacine was persistently constructed as a danger to domestic animals. The picture demonstrates how the even the medium of photography was manipulated to support the belief that the species was a threat. Together with their different forms, techniques, discourses, devices, signs, strategies and intertextual references, images were complicit in encouraging the process of exterminating the thylacine. In addition, the relationship of images to the process can be both direct, as when the impressions projected by images encouraged the killing of animals and justified the implementation of bounties, and indirect, as in the case of generating demand for specimens to be used for scientific research and in the production of more images so that the animal could be 'defined' and 'known'. Therefore, while no simple causal relation between image and extinction has been identified in this thesis, the study reveals distinct parallels between the messages the images project and the extinction of the thylacine that suggest a complex circular effect where images reflected, reinforced, shaped and encouraged destructive attitudes and actions.

So why did British and Australian artists, writers, publishers and scientists represent the species in zoological and natural history works in the way that they did? Motivated by scientific conventions, imperialist ambitions and economic imperatives, they used their ability to make images to effect a transformation of their new surroundings; just as Aboriginal people engraved the rocks in the Pilbara in an attempt to sustain their environment. In the case of the thylacine, the capacity of European zoological images to promote change was realised with devastating effect.

How the gap in knowledge was filled

During the course of research I encountered great interest in the thylacine, matched by a lack of documentation regarding illustrations of the species – citations of the works in which they appear and information about them was often inadequate, missing, or incorrect. This problem occurs despite the fact that a vast amount of material relating to the species (including many of the images I discuss) is accessible on the websites of museums, libraries, and on very large private sites. Interest in the thylacine in Tasmania and other parts of the world is associated with heritage concerns, the historical importance of the species, the potential for scientific outcomes, conservation concerns, and an almost cult-like fascination with the animal. Staff at many institutions holding images were interested in obtaining the results of research; some of them possess numerous illustrations as prints or archival material, but often do not have the time and/or resources to discover the origin, history or possible significance of items. To some extent, the needs of these institutions shaped the aims of my research and determined its scope – the documentation of images became much more important than at first intended and the results will eventually be made available to the institutions that have expressed interest in them.

It also became apparent in the course of research that there was an interesting link between illustrations and mounted specimens. Staff at museums, academics and zoologists who became aware of these connections expressed considerable enthusiasm for this notion. Stephen Sleightholme's invaluable research tool – the International Thylacine Specimen Database that identifies and lists specimens of the species in ninety-one museum collections – reached completion as this thesis was in its final stages. In conjunction with the information regarding illustrations contained in this thesis, the ITSD should facilitate further findings about the relation between zoological illustrations and taxidermy specimens, as well as encouraging further cross-disciplinary investigations relating to the species.

My study has also contributed to understanding the messages generated by visual constructions of the thylacine in science and popular writing in the nineteenth century through interaction with textual entries. It has demonstrated methods and achieved results that are applicable to studies relating to representations of other animals and that may reveal interesting outcomes for species not yet extinct. It has explored the role of books in disseminating ideas about animals and implicitly suggested that further study, to see if images were as influential as their messages and potential effects indicate, should be rewarding. The research helps fill a gap in awareness of the politics of representation in relation to the thylacine and, by doing so, contributes to work on animals in general by

academics involved in the field of animal studies in Britain and USA.[215] Descriptive and documentary works about any subject are an essential basis for study, but research that involves analytical and critical readings *produces* outcomes, raises awareness, explores possibilities and takes steps toward understanding the many ways in which material objects and ideas operate. The relationship between the subject of zoology and visual images is often problematic, and my research has shown how practitioners associated with both 'art' and 'science' are not necessarily aware of the requirements or conventions of the other. The space between the aspirations of zoological artists, the expectations of zoologists, and the finished product is often considerable. The relevance of the findings in this thesis can also be extended to work published much later in the twentieth century. For instance, an article by Smith in *Carnivorous Marsupials* (1982) states in regard to the thylacine: "from 15-20 black or dark brown stripes.... are always longest over the rump, where they descend the hip almost to the knee. And grow shorter anteriorly until they disappear. They never reach all the way to the abdomen" ("Review of Thylacine" 245). And yet the illustration that appears on page 237 shows exactly that: stripes that reach all the way to the belly, while those on the rump are actually shorter.

The politics of scientific writing about the thylacine (as well as popular reports) has been dealt with at some length in Paddle's work *The Last Tasmanian Tiger*; this thesis extends on Paddle's work by examining the politics of *visualising* the species. Together, our studies provide a comprehensive understanding of the role of representations in the extermination of one of the many species encountered by European colonists. Although the subject of colonial photography has received considerable academic attention, the impact of the medium on zoological illustration has received very little. The possibilities explored in the two chapters I include on photographs of the thylacine could be profitably exploited by examining photographs of other species, and by further study on how this medium shaped perceptions of particular colonial animals and how it may have been manipulated in other cases. It has been apparent that the semiotic analysis used in this thesis is of interest to zoologists as well as those concerned with the thylacine: in a recent review of my paper "Is this picture worth a thousand words?" for *Australian Zoologist* (Appendix ii), Paddle remarks that "the discussion of the seductive nature of photographs of zoological specimens, particularly relevant for figured species, and the demand on the observer to understand and interpret a photograph in terms of its contemporary context, as well as later historical significance, are valuable and exciting arguments". He feels that my work on particular

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[215] Some of these publications (or their authors) have been mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis or quoted in various chapters. Others include Nigel Rothfels' book *Representing Animals* (2002), Erica Fudge's *Animal* (2002) and the papers in *Society and Animals* 9:3 (2001) on the representation of animals.

photographs of the thylacine is "a new and significant contribution to the thylacine (and general zoological) literature" ("Review" 1).

Extinct animals are a particularly important group and many lessons can be learnt from examining their histories. Understanding how and why things happen, particularly in the case of disastrous and negative events, can turn these experiences into practical contributions to a sustainable world. This thesis has offered a perspective on the possible role of images in the destruction of species. It has revealed the persistence and power of visual signifiers and subtexts and how they combine with different texts to silently and effectively infiltrate perceptions. As with illustrations of the dodo, images of the thylacine that circulate in influential spaces still determine beliefs about the species and it is important to correct erroneous impressions that may have existed for many years. The most important contribution that this thesis can make, however, is in regard to those animals that are endangered at present.

Implications for the management of conservation issues

As concluded in the first part of this chapter, humans are in possession of a remarkable power in their capacity for imagemaking. In "Shadow of the Shark: Conservation and Popular Perception", Helen Tiffin opens with the statement: "as scientists increasingly acknowledge, public perceptions and opinions are crucial to the success or failure of conservation projects. From the preservation of entire river systems ... or the shoring up of wetland habitats, to the protection of endangered animal and plant species or ecosystems, enforceable legislation is dependent on public support, and thus, whatever the force of scientific data, on popular images and beliefs". She also points out that "images [of sharks in the movie *Jaws*] are usually accepted as reality without our ever considering their historical and psycho-cultural production; their bases in human fears and human self definition rather than in (ostensibly) objective accounts...". She suggests that because of the complex relationship between "our self-definition as humans *against* (non-human) animals, and because of our ambivalent attitudes to other predators" alteration of public opinion about the shark requires more than scientific facts: "what is needed is an understanding of the history of the ways in which we have projected, and still project our fears of death, the unknown, and the malign onto the shark, and the often complex and convoluted reasons for these projections". Tiffin concludes that by examining the way in which sharks are represented – even in scientific discourse – we can 'dismantle' misconceptions about them (117-20). [216] The thylacine falls into this category of an animal that is, or was, feared and

[216] Tiffin is the author of a monograph on the shark in the animal series by Reaktion Books (Forthcoming).

persecuted and provides an example of how negative constructions evolve, how uncritically they are often received, and how devastatingly effective they can be. Others animals of this type include bats, of which nine Australian species are currently critically endangered or vulnerable (Australian Government 2-5).

Awareness of the need for attention to issues of animal representation in the frame of conservation concerns is articulated in a paper from a forum on Zoology and the Media that addresses how news interacts with wildlife, zoology, and research scientists. In this paper, Lunney, Mathews and Wilson comment that "a major topic of study would be to examine to what extent the [news]papers determine rather than reflect public interest and attitudes in wildlife matters" and note that science and technology are vital to the lives of ordinary Australians. They suggest that wildlife scientists take a much more active role in the reporting of material and conclude that "the values explicitly and implicitly contained in news items ... could also be a major item of investigation" and that comments on biodiversity are rare despite the sustained media interest in animals (Lunney et al., "Throw a Koala" 296). Drawing attention to the processes and practices involved in producing visual images in zoological works, to the extraordinary power of pictures, to the lack of care that often attends their reproduction and to interactions between visual and textual statements in publications, is a contribution to the kind of research the paper is recommending. Awareness of the importance of 'accurate', appropriate, or helpful images and the different ways in which they can be read is also in the interests of recognising and producing good science. As pointed out by Lunney et al., the way animals are pictured can play a vital role in fostering negative or affirmative attitudes and actions towards them.

Lunney and Burgin have also explored the matter of how species are depicted in published reports on the management of urban wildlife. They note the "long dark history" of bats in European culture and the "fear and ignorance" apparent in the representation of herpetofauna, where a tiny showcase is given to the species in the British Museum (Natural History) compared with the amazing array of dinosaurs displayed there. They state that wildlife managers recognise "attitudes to wildlife are a crucial element in the wildlife management equation" and that animals common in urban spaces in Australia, such as grey-headed flying foxes *Pteropus poliocephalus*, the long nosed bandicoot *Perameles nasuta* and herpetofauna in general, are particularly vulnerable to perceptions that are generated by images (Lunney and Burgin, "Urban Wildlife" 231-2). All animals, however, are susceptible to human attitudes and actions and representations of 'wild' animals in museums, on television and in newspaper reports are often the only experience of them people in urban societies are likely to have. The messages generated by these images can be highly

influential in encouraging the conservation of such species and in determining public responses to protective measures.

Recently, ideas have been explored about how positive improvements in the representation of animals in general might be effected; for example, in the last chapter of his formative book, *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity and Representation*, Baker posits "whether and how things might be changed – to the advantage of animals – through the constructive use of representations". He suggests "at the very least, it should be possible to outline the conditions under which we might usefully speak of 'strategic images for animal rights'". Among the strategies for change Baker offers are ways of representation that engender "an unpredictable play of the visible and invisible" and that resist the production of stereotypes; that cast doubt on what it is that is being seen rather than fixing it into an iconography; that avoid centring on the human subject or objectifying the image of the animal; and that are conducive to keeping an open mind about the meanings images might carry and that contest those meanings – that is, productive realignments in 'the politics of animal picturing' (*Picturing the Beast* [2001] 187-189, 217-232). The tendency to sensationalism that is apparent in both popular and scientific works in the nineteenth century exists today in a much wider variety of media. Wildlife documentaries with enormous budgets and sophisticated capacity to fabricate situations and events are the popular zoological works of the twenty-first century. The need for scepticism in viewing pictures and moving film of animals, especially when they are used as evidence of activities considered undesirable, should be advertised. Questions viewers should be encouraged to ask include: Does this picture supply reliable, unsensational evidence of the form, behaviour, or activities of the animal described? Do the text/narrative and images match with each other? Is one aspect of behaviour constantly shown over others? Why does this occur? How could endangered animals be represented to encourage respect and concern? Responsible production and reception of films about animals, especially those that are threatened with extinction, should not be an unreasonable expectation.

One of the Tasmanian animals that could benefit from the insights provided by the story of the thylacine is the Tasmanian Devil, recently placed on the 'vulnerable' list in accordance with the Tasmanian Threatened Species Protection Act 1995, due to a virulent form of cancer that threatens to decimate the existing population.[217] Although the role of humans in the species' present predicament is unclear, possible triggers that have been suggested are pesticides used in agriculture, toxins sprayed on roads and poisons used to kill animals that

[217] Read more about the terrible facial tumour disease threatening the Devil, attempts to identify its cause and moves to protect the species on the Tasmanian Department of Environment website: http://www.dpiwe.tas.gov.au/inter.nsf/WebPages/LBUN-5QF86G?open.

the Devils eat (Owen and Pemberton 182-6). Like the thylacine, the Devil has been and still is represented as a vicious, ugly animal. Illustrations of this kind in zoological works usually appear in close proximity to those of the thylacine and they have been mentioned in a number of chapters in this thesis. In an article about a recent documentary film on the Devil, Brian Courtis writes "it's difficult to understand how anyone could find the snarling, scavenging, blood-chilling Tasmanian devil loveable" (1). However, zoologist Menna Jones, who has researched Devils in the wild for many years, sees a different creature – a highly intelligent one that has a busy, albeit noisy, family life and young animals that are infinitely interesting and appealing. Yet the majority of images that appear on websites, brochures, a popular Warner Brothers cartoon series and in scientific works, show a Devil with a snarling face, open mouth and angry appearance – a depiction that is unlikely to inspire the generous sentiments, cooperation and financial contributions that may be required to save the species from extinction.[218] Images of the Devil that are designed to appeal to mass audiences, such as films and television documentaries, are particularly inclined to play on the sensational and violent aspects of this animal's life.[219] It has been suggested that the representation of the Devil as a 'battler' demonstrates the affection Tasmanians hold for the animal, but a new book on the species reveals how it has been "mercilessly persecuted" in Tasmania in the past (Owen and Pemberton 19). In view of the damage constructions can do and the tenacity with which they adhere to an animal, research should be undertaken into precisely how the Tasmanian Devil is represented now, how these representations are understood and operate, how they affect the real animal and their impact on the species' welfare. The kind of marketing research that goes into promoting cars, fashion and electronic goods could be employed in attempts to raise awareness of the predicament of many animals and to protect threatened species. In cases such as the Devil, strategies for 'raising its profile' may profitably include changing the name given to it by early settlers – just as many classifications, and thus scientific names, have been altered. Unlike the thylacine, the Tasmanian Devil and many other species could still be saved.

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[218] The continuity of representation in this case exemplifies Erica Fudge's observation that "if the past is allowed to disappear it will take with it a knowledge of the present" (3).

[219] The documentary film about the Tasmanian Devil by David Parer and Elizabeth Parer-Cook mentioned earlier is called *Terrors of Tasmania*. It is billed as "a story that will change your attitude to these extraordinary animals", but at a screening of the film at the University of Tasmania on 20/5/05, Parer admitted that it balances science, education and entertainment; that the documentary film industry is "driven by money"; and that "good science is extremely creative". Despite Parer's apparent good intentions, the film exploits the 'devilish' associations of the species to attract and entertain audiences and perhaps prevents them from caring about the species' fate.